Daily Report

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Hague Court Urged To Help Settle Gabcikovo Row

LD0604192893 Prague CTK in English 1831 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest April 6 (CTK corresponcent)—Hungary and Slovakia have agreed, on the level of experts, on a definitive wording of their joint document requesting the International Court of Justice in The Hague to help resolve their long-standing dispute over the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project on the Danube.

It was officially announced in Budapest today that unless Bratislava raises objections, the document might be signed in Brussels on Wednesday. The date was proposed by the European Community (EC) last week.

Agreement on the last contentious points in the document was reached only today, the Hungarian minister charged with affairs concerning the Gabcikovo dam, Gyorgy Tatar, said. He added that Slovak experts now agree with the wording of the whole document and will submit it to the Slovak Government for approval later today.

Sources in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry told CTK today that for the Hungarian part, the document will be signed by Janos Martonyi, Hungary's chief negotiator for Gabcikovo.

Hungary and Slovakia have been locked in their dispute over the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros twin-dam project on their border since Hungary halted construction on its side in 1989, citing environmental reason. Slovakia's part in Gabcikovo was put into operation in October 1992, drawing sharp criticism from Hungary. The project was originally begun by the former Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1977.

Czechs, Slovaks Expect Economy To Worsen

AU0604123293 Prague CTK in English 1249 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 2 (CTK)—Almost one-half of pensioners in the Czech and Slovak Republics (43 percent) believe that their financial situation will further worsen this year, according a poll conducted by the ULTEX Europe public opinion agency of 1000 people from both successor states to the former Czechoslovakia.

According to the poll, only 19 percent of pensioners over 65 years expect an improvement in their finances this year. The most optimistic as to their financial situation proved to be young people between 16 to 24 years of age, of whom eight percent expect that their financial situation will highly improve and 24 percent think that it will slightly improve. Negative forecasts were voiced by 18 per sent of young people in both republics.

While in the Czech Republic considerable improvement of their financial situation is expected by seven percent and a slight improvement by 28 percent of respondents, in Slovakia results were only 4 percent and 11 percent respectively.

About 22 percent of Czech citizens as a whole believe that their situation will worsen, either considerably or slightly, while in the Slovak Republic almost 43 percent of the people are apprehensive about their future.

Berisha Issues Decree on Cabinet Changes

AU0604143893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 6 Apr 93

["Decree on Some Changes to the Composition of the Council of Ministers" issued in Tirana on 6 April]

[Text] On the basis of Article 28, clause 7 of Law No. 7,491, dated 29 April 1991, on Main Constitutional Provisions along with the proposal by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, I decree:

Article 1

Mr. Bashkim Kopliku is relieved of the duty of minister of public order and remains deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers charged with economic reform problems.

Article 2

Mr. Rexhep Uka is relieved of the duty of the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture and food and is appointed minister without portfolio concerning local government problems.

Article 3

Mr. Ylli Vejsiu is released of the duty of the education minister and is appointed with another duty.

Article 4

Mr. Osman Shehu is released of the duty of minister of tourism and is appointed with another duty.

Article 5

Mr. Agron Musaraj is appointed minister of public order.

Article 6

Mr. Petrit Kalakula is appointed minister of agriculture and food.

Article 7

Mr. Xhezair Teliti is appointed education minister.

Article 8

Mr. Edmond Spaho is appointed minister of tourism.

Article 9

This decree takes effect immediately.
Tirana, 6 April 1993
Decree No. 508
President of the Republic, Sali Berisha

Tirana Radio Profiles Ministers

AU0604174093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] The prime minister's spokesman says that with these changes Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi intends to pursue better coordination on the reform in its new stage and expand the base of his cabinet by including specialists and distinguished intellectuals with no party membership, such as Xhezair Teliti and Edmond Spaho.

The prime minister thanks the departing ministers for their contributions and wishes them success in their new tasks.

Petrit Kalakula: He was born in Tirana on 31 December 1931 to a civilian family. After graduating from secondary school with excellent grades, he was not allowed to go to college for political reasons. Five years later he began a correspondence course at the Agronomy Faculty and graduated with very good grades. He worked as a scientific researcher in the Agricultural Research Institute for 10 years, in agricultural cooperatives for about 16 years, in the Systematization and Water Network Directorate for two years, on the Tirana District Executive Committee for about four years, on the Kamez Farm for three years, and at the district agricultural station for eight years. In August 1991 he was appointed deputy chairman of the Pluralist Executive Committee of District No. 4 in Tirana. He was a Democratic Party candidate for deputy in two elections. In the 22 March elections he was elected deputy in Zone No. 92 of Tirana District. He is presently a deputy in the People's Assembly and chairman of the Agriculture and Food Commission.

Xhezair Qamil Teliti: He was born in Kavaje on 17 February 1948 and finished secondary school there. From 1966-1971 he studied mathematics in college and later went to work in the Special Mathematics Department. In 1981 he received the degree of candidate of sciences and in 1989 received the degree of docent. In 1991 he received the degree of doctor of sciences. He is chief of the Topology and Functional Analysis Department at the Faculty of Natural Sciences.

Agron Neki Musaraj: He was born in Vlore on 1 January 1950. He lives in Berat where he completed general secondary education. From 1971-1975 he studied mathematics at the Faculty of Natural Sciences. From 1976-1987 he worked as a teacher in elementary and secondary agricultural schools. From 1987-1991 he worked as a mathematics teacher in Berat. He is a deputy representing Electoral Zone No. 1. He has been a secretary of the parliamentary group of order, defense, and ShIK [National Information Service].

Edmond Shyqyri Spaho: He was born in Tirana on 13 September 1958. He graduated from college with a degree in economics in 1982. Later [words indistinct]. From 1982-1988 he worked as an economist and chief of economic affairs in various enterprises in Elbasan and

Rreshen. From 1988-1991 he was a vice director in the State Reserves. From 1991-1992 he worked as a director of the Inter-Branch Programming Department in the Finance and Economy Ministry. In May 1992 he was appointed to his present position of deputy minister of tourism. He has completed several short-term post-university courses on economics and informatics. In 1992 he finished the IMF Institute qualification course on programming and financial policy in the United States.

Socialists Stage Protest

AU0704105993 Paris AFP in English 0958 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Tirana, April 7 (AFP)—Prime Minister Alexander Meksi reshuffled the Albanian Government on Wednesday [7 April] amid demonstrations organised by the former communists calling for his whole team to stand down.

The Socialist Party (ex-communist), complaining about government incompetence, has been staging protest rallies across the country. [passage omitted]

Zhulali, Bosnian Delegation Discuss Relations

AU0704065893 Tirana ATA in English 0828 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 5 (ATA)—On April 4, the Minister of Defence Mr. Safet Zhulali met with the minister of defence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mr. Munib Bisiq [name and title as received], who is leading a military delegation in a visit to Albania.

"Your country and people are experiencing the most tragic events, as a result of the inhuman policy of Milosevic," the Minister of Defence Safet Zhulali said. "Our people are attentively following the events in former Yugoslavia, they are witnesses and denounce the fascist massacre and hail the signing of the peace plan, the U.S. participation, and the efforts to increase the pressure towards the Serbs to sign the peace plan in order that a democratic society be set up in Bosnia,too."

"We are following attentively the events in the region," he said, "also related to the fact that what is happening in Bosnia today may happen in Kosova tomorrow, by spreading the conflict in the south. In these circumstances, we demand that peace troops be installed in Kosova, in order not to allow an ethnic purging." Then, the Albanian minister of defence said that through its policy of good neighbourliness, through its realistic policy, Albania upholds that neighbouring countries should not take part directly in the solution of the questions of former Yugoslavia. The proposal of the President Izetbegovic will be examined and, according to concrete possibilities, our country will help with the question of refugees. Although war is not yet over, Albania is ready for an economic cooperation.

The minister of defence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mr. Munib Bisiq, said that "I am pleased that Albania is well informed regarding the events and genocide in Bosnia." Further on he stressed that Bosnia- Herzegovina is a country of ancient traditions, therefore "our people, who are fighting and defending themselves, suffer no defeat, despite the victims." Then, he voiced the desire for relations of cooperation between the two countries.

"Your visit here is a significant event for our two countries," Mr. Zhulali said. "I hope the meetings and relations between Albania and Bosnia be continuous, because they are in the same region, have historic and human relations, which may be further strengthened."

On the same day, the military delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina met with the chief of the Army General Staff, Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho. During the meeting they stressed the need of relations and cooperation between our two countries in the military and other fields.

Zhulali Comments on Army Restructuring

AU0704070093 Tirana ATA in English 0832 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 5 (ATA)—"Restructuring the Army is a relatively long process, but we first began it with the Gjirokaster Division," the Minister of Defence Safet Zhulali responded a question by ATA reporter regarding this problem. Speaking of the ongoing performance, he explained the idea of restructuring the Army.

"I have always said that the restructuring of the Army does not hinder the military readiness and level of training. We could not begin the process of restructuring in the north, as it is not appropriate at this period with so much tensions. We began it with Gjirokaster Division, as the relations with Greece have greatly improved. Naturally, there will be many problems and difficulties, removal of the material basis, and movement of cadres," he said. "As regards the latter, in order to avoid any manifestation of subjectivism," Mr. Zhulali said, "we have raised a working group with selected and honest officers to carry out the process of selecting the cadre on the basis of a rigorous test and appoint them to leading functions in the division and units. We will cope with the difficulties as the officers themselves agree on the restructuring of the Army and they know that the Army's concentration in barracks leads to the further strengthening of the Army and the country's defence," he said.

Berisha, World Bank Mission Discuss Agriculture

AU0704075693 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 6 (ATA)—The President of the Republic Sali Berisha met with the mission of the World Bank for the private sector in agriculture.

During the talk they exchanged opinions on two main projects related to support of the poorest zones in

agriculture and to the credits this bank is going to grant to private peasants to stimulate them in their activity.

Participants in the mission were also representatives from the Japanese Government, which will take part in these projects and promises for more intensified relations in the future.

The president greeted them for the concrete aid they are granting in this priority field for the economy.

Italian Transportation Minister Tesini Arrives

AU0704070393 Tirana ATA in English 1046 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 5 (ATA)—An activity of Albania-Europe-Italy Association was organized in the International Cultural Center on April 4. The most significant part of this activity was the meeting of the members and sympathizers of this association with the deputy of the Christian Democratic Party and minister of transport of Italy, Mr. Giancarlo Tesini.

"I came in this non official activity, first of all as a friend of Albania and the Albanians." Today the official activity starts with meetings and separate talks with the Premier Meksi, the minister of agriculture and food, Rexhep Uka, and with the Minister of Transports Bitincka, with whom he will sign an agreement of cooperation in the field of transports.

Mr. Tesini said that "I have come in Albania with a personal message of President Scalfaro for President Berisha. The aim of this visit", he said, "is to construct close relations on new basis of cooperation."

Signs Agreement With Bitincka

AU0704070493 Tirana ATA in English 0808 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 6 (ATA)—[passage indistinct] The message says: I wish your country attains fresh social progress and continues under your direction the road it has embarked on, a road which is really difficult but with a concrete perspective.

Later the talk focused on the intensification of the relations between the two countries, which is also materialized by the visit of the Minister Tesini to Tirana. During the talk, President Berisha highly valued the aid the Italian people and government have rendered to Albania and the extraordinary performance of the "Pelican" Operation members.

Talks at the Ministry of Agriculture and Nutrition

The Italian delegation headed by the Minister of Transportation Mr. Tencini and the Albanian delegation headed by the deputy premier and minister of agriculture and nutrition, Mr. Rexhep Uka, conducted talks yesterday at the Ministry of Agriculture and Nutrition. They discussed the enhancement of the relations between Italy and Albania and their materialization in all fields.

They said that one of the fields of cooperation of mutual interest is that of fishing. In this context they pointed to the necessity of preparing a contemporary legislation, of cooperation in the scientific field, the evaluation of the sea resources, and their reproduction, exploiting the Italian experience, the realization of a draft-agreement between Italy and Albania, whose coasts are watered by the same sea.

The Italian delegation agreed in principle to materialize these fields as soon as possible and enhance the level of cooperation between the two countries.

Agreement on the Road Transportation Between Albania and Italy Signed

"Agreement on road transportation between Albania and Italy is an agreement creating greater possibilities for further cooperation between our two countries. I value Italy's contribution and the aid it has rendered to Albania over the period of transition," Albanian Minister of Transportation Fatos Bitincka said in the ceremony of signing this agreement.

Presenting to the Italian counterpart the fields of cooperation, such as railway, maritime, air and road transportation, Mr. Bitincka said that this agreement serves as a legal basis for these relations, opening the perspective for signing other agreements.

Mr. Tesini reaffirmed the good will of the Italian Government to support Albania and the aid it will give our country in the field of road, maritime, air and road transportation.

Italian Minister of Transportation Tesini Meets Premier Meksi

On April 5, the Italian Minister of Transportation Tesini also met with Premier Meksi. In this meeting the premier demanded Italy's support with investments such as in the construction of the motorway, airport, etc. "Geographical nearness is another factor for strengthening communication between the two countries," Mr. Meksi said, adding "much more should be done in the field of transportation. For instance, the number of the ferry boats has increased but much more should be done this direction, especially in the ports of Durres and Vlore."

The Italian Minister Tesini expressed the political and economical support of the Italian Government. "The basis for cooperation is now open and it only needs to be materialized," Mr. Tesini said.

On April 5, the Italian minister of transportation left Albania.

French Agency To Aid Small Enterprises

AU0704073893 Tirana ATA in English 1033 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 5 (ATA)—The negotiations of the French delegation of technical cooperation and relations in the sector of handicraft, headed by Mr. Bernand Gotje, president of this agency, concentrated on the situation in the small enterprises in Albania, their privatization, and the structure of the public and private administration, the concrete opportunities and directions of the French aid in this sector.

During the one year visit, the French mission contacted representatives of the central local power administration, the Albanian Handicraft Association, the Chamber of Commerce, as well as with separate craftsmen of the cities of Tirana and Vlore.

In the end of his visit, the French group presented a preliminary program to continue the aid to draft laws on the small private enterprises, the organizational structures, which will support them, serving as interlocutor at the central and local public administration.

Economic Agreement Signed With Germany

AU0704074493 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 4 (ATA)—During this year the German party will offer special aid for Albania, Mr. Schwreiger, leader of the German delegation, declared after signing the agreement on economic cooperation between Albania and the FRG. This aid is intended to help the private farmers, to restructure aqueducts, to contribute to the professional qualification and employment, to support the newly formed small and middle enterprises, and to establish a credit system. This year the German financial contribution will be over 40 million DM [German marks], while its contribution to Albania via the European Community is greater. Mr. Schwreiger expressed once again the attitude of the German Government to support the reform and the development of the Albanian economy.

The agreement was signed for the Albanian party by Artan Hoxha, minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation, and for the German party by Mr. Schwreiger.

On this occasion Mr. Hoxha thanked him and expressed the consideration of the Albanian Government for the support the German Government gives to Albania at these difficult moments. He also said he was sure that the bilateral relations will further develop in the future.

IMF Board Assesses Economic Reform Results

AU0604201093 Tirana ATA in English 0820 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 5 (ATA)—The Leading Board of the International Monetary Fund finished the first official report on the results of the economic reform in Albania in the context of "stand-by" program and jumped at the conclusion that results in this direction are significant. Consequently, the IMF will continue to provide financial support to Albania in the context of this programe. It also appreciated the fact that the purpose of the democratic government is to launch an economic intermediate-range program in the shortest possible period of time.

Genc Ruli, minister of finance and economy, granted an interview to the Albanian newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in regard to this. As known, in order to support the economic reform launched by the Albanian Government, the IMF signed in August 1992 a "stand-by" agreement. It represents financial aid to the balance of payments in value of about 28 million dollars for one year period of time. This agreement with IMF is significant to the success of the economic reform in Albania. It also confirms the seriousness of the economic reform before the international public opinion so that other international organizations such as the European Community, the World Bank, and the European Bank and other individual donators support this reform. In this regard the report by the IMF Leading Board is a major support for the government and its economic policy.

Such a statement on the part of IMF shows the international community that Albania has fulfilled the tasks in the context of the economic reform and the further support by this community is fully justifiable, the interview says in conclusion.

Government Should Control Import of Drugs

AU0704075293 Tirana ATA in English 1031 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 6 (ATA)—Great problems emerge under the circumstances of Albania's opening to the world in regard to the quantitative and qualitative control of imported drugs. This leads to the penetration of drugs and other suspicious medicine. Currently everyone who lacks the slightest knowledge of medicine is free to import them as there is no law that bans such an activity. Meanwhile, the National Medicine Control Centre is the only legal institution which will control the quality of medicine to be imported, produced and used in our country and it is under organization presently. But although it would take time to establish the control structures and to equip them with contemporary licenses, one should never think that a decision to license the import of medicine is delayed.

Government To Grant Aid to Working People

AU0704065993 Tirana ATA in English 0834 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 5 (ATA)—The government reported it will grant an economic aid for the working people whose deadline of social assistance expires. These category of working people will receive 50 percent of the monthly minimal payment or 500 leks per month.

The number of the working people whose one year deadline of social assistance is completed keeps on increasing. In the meantime a considerable part of them have been engaged in private activities. For this six-month period the number of the category of people who will take the new assistance from the government is envisaged to be nearly 25,400 persons. The economic effect of this aid is 148 million leks. If we take into account the compensation for the price rise, this amount reaches to 263 million leks.

Council of Ministers Approves 1993 Draft Budget

AU0704080093 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—At an extraordinary session today the government approved this country's draft budget for 1993 providing for a deficit of 27 billion leva. Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov declined to comment in detail on the parameters of the budget. He will present these details on Thursday after the draft budget is submitted to the National Assembly.

The finance minister told journalists at the Government Press Office that a deficit of 27 billion leva amounts to 8 percent of the gross domestic product. The budget provides for an annual inflation of 60 percent and for an approximately 4 percent drop in production. The finance minister did not specify whether this inflation rate is realistic. In the first three months of this year inflation reached 19 percent. Mr. Stoyan Aleksandrov was not overoptimistic about the possibilities to increase the revenue side of the budget. According to him, tax discipline is weak and many imported goods are sold in Bulgaria at prices 20 to 30 percent lower than their actual ones because the merchants do not pay all necessary taxes. These parameters of the budget were discussed at the negotiations with the IMF mission in Sofia in March and were approved in their expenditures part.

According to the finance minister, the budget deficit will be financed 50 percent by direct bank financing and by the issuing of state securities. Mr. Stoyan Aleksandrov launched the idea to make state securities convertible so that the citizens could use them for acquiring property or for taking part in privatization which, according to Mr. Aleksandrov, would make them more desirable. The budget allocates 22 billion leva to the acquittal of bad credits of enterprises.

Judicial Council Objects

AU0704082693 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Sofia, April 6 (BTA) [passage omitted] The Supreme Judicial Council today objected to the budget bill entered for debates today. In a letter to the Council of Ministers, it protested against the 220 million leva reduction of allocations to the judiciary, Vladislav Slavov, a spokesman for the council, said.

The spokesman told reporters the government has no right to amend the judiciary's budget but can set forth considerations on the issue and move them for debates in parliament.

The letter objects to the reduction of the allocations to prisons and to the Ministry of Justice headquarters, insisting that these expenses be paid by the executive and not the judiciary.

Defense Minister, Chief of Staff Threaten to Resign

AU0704094393 Sofia BTA in English 0819 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 7 (BTA)—The draft budget unanimously approved by the cabinet and supported by the two influential trade unions—the confederation of Independent Trade Unions and Podkrepa—does not give grounds for great optimism, says PARI, the financial and business news daily. The key figures in the draft budget are a 27,000 million leva deficit (8 per cent of the GD), 60 per cent annual inflation, and a drop in production by 3.5-3.8 per cent of the GDP. The draft budget will be submitted to parliament on Thursday. "Draft budget is like Russian roulette," runs a headline in DEMOKRATSIYA, the daily of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

According to PARI, the demands of the Defense Ministry and Greater Sofia Municipality were cut down most drastically. The Finance Ministry also rejected certain demands of the agriculture and health care ministries. [passage omitted]

Quoting sources close to the cabinet, DEMOKRATSIYA says that Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov tendered his resignation yesterday and then withdrew it, while the cabinet was discussing the draft budget. This step was probably prompted by the cuts in the Defense ministry's expenditure, the author assumes. The Defense Ministry will be allocated 8,000 million leva, half the amount it asked for.

KONTINENT quotes a well-informed source as saying that the defense minister and General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff, said they would resign unless general Lyutskan Lyutskanov was dismissed from the land forces' command. This was their reaction to President Zhelev's refusal to sign a decree on Lyutskanov's dismissal. Finally, a compromise was reached and he will be appointed military attache in Kiev, the daily says.

Dimitur Ludzhev, ex-defence minister of the SDS cabinet, induced President Zhelev to take the compromise decision, says DUMA, the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], in a front-page article.

President Zhelev yesterday conferred with General Lyutskanov and ordered him to carry on with his work, 24 CHASA says. Prime Minister Berov also met with General Lyutskanov yesterday. Last Thursday the cabinet asked the president to dismiss the land forces' commander for his political partiality, low professionalism and for taking undue advantage of his official position, 24 CHASA says. [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Condemns Attacks in Cambodia

AU0704065693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has issued a declaration sharply condemning the deliberate armed attacks on the

UN peacekeeping forces in Cambodia. The ministry makes an appeal to the cochairmen of the Paris Conference, the foreign ministers participating in the Paris Conference, the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, and the four Khmer groups for an immediate cessation of armed actions on the territory of Cambodia. The deliberate and brutal murder of the Bulgarian blue helmets presents a sinister challenge to the humane goals of such operations, the declaration states. The Foreign Ministry expresses its full support for the statement issued on 5 April by the chairman of the UN Security Council relating to the attack on a detachment of the Bulgarian battalion in Cambodia and confirms Bulgaria's readiness to continue to make its contribution in fulfilling the noble tasks of the peacekeeping forces, the Foreign Ministry declaration states in conclusion.

Alekxandrov Receives Albanian Defense Minister

AU0604191893 Sofia BTA in English 1451 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—The defence ministers of Bulgaria and Albania, Valentin Aleksandrov and Safet Zhulali, discussed possibilities for the promotion of bilateral military relations and the security problems in the Balkans as a result of the continuing conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Mr. Zhulali arrived here late last night at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart.

According to the Press Office of the Defence Ministry, Bulgarian Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov stressed Bulgaria's stand that peaceful ways should be sought in the settling of the Yugo-crisis, which however, does not obviate the need to keep the armies of the countries in this region in fighting trim. Defence Minister Aleksandrov set forth Bulgaria's stand on a national defence concept based on the principle of reasonable sufficiency of the armed forces.

Albania's defence policy proceeds from the same values as the Bulgarian one, Albanian Defence Minister Zhulali said. According to him, Albania is directly threatened by the continuing conflict in the former Yugoslavia and the danger of its spreading to other regions of the old federation. Mr. Zhulali said that Albania insists on the demilitarization of the region of Kosovo, in which there are almost 100,000 Serbian soldiers, and on the sending of UN and NATO forces there. Albania is against changing existing borders and wishes the problem with the status of Kosovo to be regulated in a way that would be acceptable to all interested sides. However, Albania would not admit ethnic cleansing in this region in which ethnic Albanians have lived for centuries, the guest said. According to him, Macedonia plays an important role in the Balkans and that is why Albania insists on its quicker recognition by the international community.

After the talks at the Defence Ministry, Mr. Zhulali told BTA that there are no major differences in the stands of Bulgaria and Albania on the Yugo-crisis and that the two countries will support the peaceful efforts of the international community to settle the crisis.

Today National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov received Albanian Defence Minister Mr. Safet Zhulali. Mr. Yordanov said that the Balkan countries themselves should play a more important role in the processes taking place on the peninsula and should be more active in the solution of the problems, because the European structures proved slower both in their initial evaluation of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and in the formulation of the possibilities for its ceasing.

Today Mr. Safet Zhulali was also received by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. Professor Berov stressed Bulgaria's wish for all ethnic communities in the former Yugoslavia to live in peace.

1992 saw the first meeting of Defence Ministry officials from Bulgaria and Albania after the changes in them. In mid-1992 the Bulgarian Defence Ministry drafted a bilateral military cooperation agreement. The draft was presented to the Albanian Defence Ministry in September, during an official visit to Tirana by the then Defence Minister Aleksandur Staliyski.

According to the preliminary schedule, the Albanian delegation will visit the Rakovski Military Academy, the Dobroslavtsi Military Airport, the Elektron Military Works, the Land and People Museum in Sofia, and Rila Monastery.

Zhelev Receives UN Refugees Regional Director

AU0704075093 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev held talks here today with Ms. Anne-Marie Demer, director of a regional Office of the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR]. Ms. Demer welcomed Bulgaria's accession to the 1951 convention relating to refugees and to the 1967 protocol relating to refugees. The UNHCR will continue its cooperation through the office in Bulgaria, which will render assistance in the training of Bulgarian officials working on the problems of refugees as well as in obtaining financial aid for providing asylum for refugees in Bulgaria. The guest delivered to Dr. Zhelev a message from Ms. Sadako Ogata, leader of the UNHCR, in which she expressed her belief that the president and the Republic of Bulgaria will persevere in their efforts for solving these problems, the Press Office of the Presidency told BTA.

Romanians Reject Cooperation in Danube Towns

AU0704082093 Sofia BTA in English 1949 GMT 6 Apr 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—The eighth session of the Bulgarian-Romanian Commission on the Environmental Problems in the Silistra-Calarasi Region was held in the Bulgarian city of Silistra (on the Danube). Despite the data presented by the Bulgarian side of increased

transboundary pollution of the air in Silistra from March 15 through April 2, the Romanian side once again declined the proposal for Bulgarian and Romanian experts to take joint measurements in industrial enterprises of the two neighbouring cities.

Today the Ministry of Agriculture adopted recommendations to the liquidation councils (effecting the agrarian reform) for speeding up their work. According to the report of Deputy Agricultural Minister Ventseslav Stoyanov, 58 of the liquidation councils have completed their work in appraising the property of the old cooperative farms and what remains are some technical problems of its distribution. According to this report, the debts of the old cooperative farms amount to 1,000,925,000 leva (the current official exchange rate of the U.S. dollar being 26 leva). The Agricultural Ministry also discussed the problems of the pig-breeders who have been protesting for a week now. It was decided to make an expert analysis and evaluation of the possibilities for marketing the output. Mr. Petur Tsankov, chief of the Ownership Restitution Department of the ministry, announced that a group of MP's will move a motion in parliament for an advance allocation of 200 million leva from the national budget to assist pig-breeders.

This week the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs will discuss a bill on the separation of the social security funds from the national budget, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Evgeni Matinchev told journalists today. The cabinet plans to submit the bill in parliament by the end of this month.

The Trade Union of Bulgarian Teachers with the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (KNSB) is on strike alert. According to leaders of this trade union, the cabinet of Prof. Lyuben Berov has failed to take into account the agreements reached last October between the former cabinet and the teachers, and now the actual rise in the teachers' salaries is smaller than the announced one. [passage omitted]

At a press conference held in Bulgaria's second largest city of Plovdiv (southern Bulgaria) today, the chief of the National Security Service with the Plovdiv Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, Mr. Angel Stoev, said that it was absolutely imperative to call a national conference on the problems of what he described as religious extremism professed by sects which have penetrated Bulgaria. Mr. Stoev said that this conference should formulate a unified state policy concerning the activities of religious organizations and sects and specify the mechanisms of interaction between the state institutions with the participation of the Prosecutor General's Office, the Parliamentary Committee on Religious Affairs and the Religious Denominations Directorate with the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

At its regular session today the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) discussed last Thursday's resolution of the UN Security Council. "We are satisfied by the fact that the international institutions are actually pursuing a policy advocated and defended by the SDS," SDS leader Filip Dimitrov said. The supreme political leadership of the SDS also discussed today an item which appeared in yesterday's issue of the Sofia RANNO UTRO tabloid which accused former National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov (of the SDS) of "crippling restitution through falsifications." Mr. Savov, who was recently elected floor leader of the parliamentary group of the SDS and is leader of the Democratic Party (one of the largest parties in the SDS), was accused by RANNO UTRO of substituting a text of the act restoring ownership in nationalized immovable property when it was voted in parliament last year. "Mr. Savov has not substituted a text of the act and this story was viewed as an attempt to attack the SDS," SDS leader Filip Dimitrov said at a press conference after the session. He described it as "an attempt to change the political characteristics of the SDS through machinations and insinuations." [passage omitted]

The Constitutional Court today ruled on the constitutional ban on MP's to hold other public offices or carry out activities inconsistent with their position.

Under the ruling, MP's cannot sit on governmental commissions, councils, agencies and other similar government structures or boards of state and municipal-run companies appointed by the executive.

Farmers Block Checkpoint on Border With Serbia

AU0704081893 Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—Bulgarian farmers continue to block the Bregovo checkpoint (on the border with Serbia, in northwestern Bulgaria). At 1100 hours local time [0800 GMT] the farmers resumed the blockade imposed yesterday. Later on today they reached an agreement with the border guards to let traffic pass at alternate hours.

The farmers said the land commission and the liquidation council (which assesses the property of the collective farm set up under the communist regime) would not share out their own land for temporary use. They will maintain the blockade until government and Agriculture Ministry officials come and meet their demands. The farmers resorted to civil disobedience after a rally and a sit-in at the village hall of Bregovo brought no results. They are pressing for a return of the land to manage to sow the fields this spring. The villagers also want to be given farming equipment.

By this evening the farmers had received no answer from the government, BTA's local correspondent reported. They called a rally this evening.

MP's of the Bulgarian Socialist Party today urged parliament to pass the cabinet-sponsored amendments to the Land Tenure Act, which floor leader Nora Ananieva

said would provide a solution for the Bregovo farmers. Prime Minister Lyuben Berov came to parliament to attend the debates on the draft amendments. But disputes on the agenda took up most of the time. Various factions and individual MP's have entered over 10 schemes to amend the act, which was passed in early 1990 and amended in 1991. Parliamentary committees have debated four drafts.

EC Energy Center Starts Energy-Saving Program

AU0604150093 Sofia BTA in English 1008 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—The European Community's energy centre, opened in Sofia in July 1992, started implementing its programme which seeks to cut power consumption in Bulgarian industry.

The operation of the centre, which is part of the OPET network (Organizations for Promotion of Energy Technologies), is directed by the Directorate General for Energy (DG XII) through the Thermie Programme.

One initiative of Sofia's energy centre is to monitor power consumption in Bulgaria's food processing industry. This problem, with special emphasis on the systems for steam production and distribution, will be considered at the third in a series of experts' meetings organized by the centre. There are also plans to hold a roundtable discussion on the opportunities for joint projects and cooperation between Bulgarian companies and companies in the EC countries.

The specific power consumption in Bulgarian buildings is too high by Western standards, centre experts found. In their view, there are considerable opportunities for energy saving in the heating of premises. In this connection, experts of the centre are analyzing the Bulgarian building materials market.

Experts of the centre are exploring opportunities to apply European technologies for the efficient and environment-friendly use of fuel. They will study the chances for the future introduction of European wind power technologies in Bulgaria, as well as opportunities to use waste biomass as an energy source.

Podkrepa Expresses Discontent With Government

AU0604115193 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 30 Mar 93 p 1

["Statement of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation Confederative Council Related to the Policy Conducted by the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria"]

[Text] After comparing the ideas and intentions announced in the government's program declaration regarding the improvement and reform of the Bulgarian economy with the real results of the cabinet's actitivies over the last three months; assessing the rule of the subjective factor in the country's administration and the implementation of economic social reform; and establishing the unsatisfactory results of the cabinet's comprehensive activities, the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation insists on the following points:

1. The culprits for the national economic disaster should be held immediately responsible and subject to legal proceedings, regardless of political affiliation. The timid and irresolute efforts on the part of the government in this respect are exacerbating the social tension and using up the government's credit of public confidence.

2. The government should strictly adhere to its objectives regarding the country's development as announced in its program. The belated decommunization and the restoration of former nomenklatura cadres are obstructing the cabinet's positive intentions and contributing to an uncontrollable escalation of social tension.

3. The activities of individual ministers, deputy ministers, committee chairmen, and other high-ranking state functionaries should be assessed. Those among them who have proved their incompetence and inability to cope with their tasks should be removed from the executive power organs.

4. The government should intensify its legislative initiative.

5. The government should accelerate and intensify the dialogue with the social partners at all levels, considering that the results achieved in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation are extremely unsatisfactory and do not correspond to the accelerated pace of the negative processes developing in Bulgarian society.

Signed on behalf of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation's Confederative Council: Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president.

Issues Statement on Cooperation

AU0604093893 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 31 Mar 93 p 1

["Resolution of the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation Regarding Mutual Relations With Political Parties and Organizations"]

[Text] The Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, after thoroughly examining the draft documents of the New Democracy Alliance, assessing the good mutual relations between the Podkrepa Confederation and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], and basing itself on the objective political situation and actual state of relations in the Bulgarian political landscape, has adopted the following resolution:

1. The Executive Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation is entrusted with the task of:
—pursuing and expanding regular contacts with the DPS.

—having regular contacts and talks with authorized representatives of the New Democracy Alliance and to submit an assessment at the Confederative Council's next session on the state of this political formation, after which it is to propose a concept on future relations with the New Democracy Alliance.
—If the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] revises its expressly anti-trade union policy, the Executive Council is instructed to conduct regular consultations with authorized SDS representatives, as long as such contacts are sought by the other side. Particular attention should be paid to the stand of political parties on socioeconomic problems that concern the Confederation.

2. The Executive Council is expected to brief the Confederative Council on the results of the consultations with a view to determining the future strategy of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation as regards its relations with political parties.

Signed on behalf of the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation by Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president.

Socialist Party Conference Adopts Resolution

AU0604103993 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Mar 93 p 8

["Resolution" of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Conference held in Sofia 27-28 March]

[Text] 1. The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] All-Party Conference adopts the draft document entitled: "Prospects for Bulgaria Aimed at Overcoming the Current Crisis and at the Transition to a Democratic Rule-of-Law and Social-Welfare State," as an alternative program for the country's development.

The conference entrusts the commission in charge of drafting the aforementioned document to complete it within 20 days, in accordance with the proposals for amendments and addenda submitted at the conference.

2. The conference proposes to the BSP members of parliament that it apply the objectives, guidelines, and tasks mapped out in the document in conducting their legislative activities and in exercising control over the executive power.

3. The document should be used as a basis for the party's election platform, in the event early elections precede the 41st BSP Congress.

DPS Leader Opposes Possible Cabinet Changes

AU0704101693 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3-4 Apr 93 p 2

[Angelina Petrova report]

[Text] According to Ahmed Dogan, the claims put forward by the left-wing forces in parliament for a cabinet shuffle are frivolous. The leader of the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] told KONTINENT's reporter that their purpose was crystal clear—the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] was trying to win positions in the supreme executive power by planting its own followers in Lyuben Berov's cabinet.

Dissident deputies from the BSP parliamentary group also interpret the demand by the leadership of the BSP parliamentary group for personal changes in the government as an attempt "to make Berov tread carefully regarding the BSP." Professor Berov was to be reminded that his cabinet simply would not have existed without the BSP votes.

However, the dissident BSP parliamentary deputies believe that the tactical strategists of the 100-year-old party do not really want to replace Industry Minister Rumen Bikov. Their real appetites are allegedly directed toward the still unoccupied foreign minister's post. The present campaign against Bikov is supposed to serve as a counter for further bargaining. During their secret bargaining with Berov and the DPS, the Socialists are alleged to have said that they would not demand Bikov's resignation if Berov accepted their candidate for foreign minister.

The BSP is reported to prefer the retired career diplomat Ivan Garvalov as its candidate for foreign minister. However, the DPS does not even want to discuss his name; they tactfully declare that they have another candidate in mind, of whose professional qualities they are fully convinced (Ivan Ikonomov, now deputy foreign minister).

Some members of the BSP parliamentary group are well aware that even if Garvalov's candidature is put to the vote in parliament, it will not succeed.

Zhan Videnov (chairman of BSP Supreme Council) was not the only one to be surprised by Nora Ananieva's [leader of BSP parliamentary group] idea of openly calling for a cabinet shuffle. Socialist deputies claim that the BSP parliamentary group had not even discussed the matter, and they admit that they no longer know that their leadership's attitude is toward Berov's cabinet. No discussion on the subject had taken place within their parliamentary group because within the group the principle reigns that what really matters is not what is said, but who says it.

According to a dissident SDS deputy, the demand for personal changes in the government, which he defines as "sloppy," is perfectly logical. As far as Rumen Bikov is concerned, the deputy in question is sure that he is capable of implementing the necessary structural changes in the country's industrial production. However, the SDS deputy says that political games will once again hinder the solving of the fundamental real problems.

"I will not permit any changes in the cabinet, even if there is a risk that Berov's cabinet will fall," Ahmed Dogan told KONTINENT.

Alliance With WEU Seen as 'Promising'

AU0604123493 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 30 Mar 93 p 6

[Commentary by Vladimir Dvoretski: "Alliance, But With Whom?"]

[Text] The new Balkan situation places Bulgaria in a particularly difficult position. It is not the first time that our country's security has been threatened, but it is evident this time that we have not the strength to defend our territory with our own forces. The tested recipe of the past, namely an alliance with some great power, is no longer valid. Fortunately, our strategic position enhances the interest of certain foreign military-political groups in Bulgaria. We should, however, thoroughly assess the situation, before deciding whom to rely on so that we may not remain without support at a crucial moment.

The idea of an alliance with some of our former "brothers in arms" from the Warsaw Pact Organization (so that the West may take us seriously) sounds interesting, but no more. National egotism is likely to persist for a long time in post-totalitarian eastern Europe and we can hardly expect any military solidarity in this respect. The chances of guaranteeing our national security with an alliance with NATO or with the Western European Union [WEU] are more serious. Our relations with the latter are particularly promising in the context of our association with the other European structures, which, last but not least, would mean integrating with the old continent.

Nevertheless, the question of whom Bulgaria should form an alliance with can be resolved only after we have achieved a national consensus on this issue, so that it may not be politicized, as any politicization of this problem is likely to weaken our state.

Commentary Assesses Losses Caused by Embargo

AU0604114593 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3-4 Apr 93 p 8

[Commentary by Maksim Bozhilov: "The Damages Are Increasing"]

[Text] The damages that Bulgaria is suffering as a result of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro are accumulating and trends are showing that they are, unfortunately, likely to increase at an accelerated pace.

We learned from Washington about the proposal that Bulgaria should cut down the number of border checkpoints with Serbia so that the embargo against Belgrade could be applied more efficiently. Three patrol boats from the United States arrived to assist Bulgaria in exercising a more effective control over navigation on the Danube River. The vessels are supposed to be capable of patrolling even under difficult metereological conditions.

It is difficult to assess to what extent the closing down of border checkpoints is likely to affect the military machinery and the economy of Serbia. Under the circumstances, it is not worthwhile for Bulgaria to violate the embargo, considering the severity of sanctions for such acts. Evidently, however, restricted opportunities for communications and the movement of Bulgarian citizens in the border zone are likely to further complicate their normal lives. As far as navigation on the Danube is concerned, it is minimal anyway, while so-called "alternative" routes are far from being an alternative, which is confirmed by the interminable lines on both sides of the Ruse-Giurgiu bridge. It turns out that the expenditures for the maintainance of the patrol boats is also an intolerable burden for the Bulgarian budget.

U.S. Vice President Al Gore recently praised Bulgaria for its efforts in applying the sanctions, but this is hardly a reason for us to rejoice. As long as the world community—and last but not least, the United States—fails to render substantial assistance to Bulgaria in working out an efffective mechanism of compensation for the losses, the Bulgarian economy is likely to collapse even before the Serbian economy.

Klaus Disputes U.S. Claims of Trade Barriers

LD0604113093 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus considers the inclusion of the Czech Republic among countries creating unfair trade barriers to be unobjective. He says this in a letter in which he responds to the report by the American Office of the Commissioner for Trade Negotiations [Americky Urad Zmocnence pro Obchodne Jednani] sent today to Adrian Bassora, the American ambassador to the Czech Republic.

In the letter the prime minister points out that the trade policy of the CSFR had been very liberal last year. An increase in exports to America by more than 200 percent when compared with 1991 supports this claim. Vaclav Klaus goes on to point out the barriers preventing some of our goods entering the American markets, and he says that the Czech Republic would very much welcome a full removal of these barriers.

Suchocka in Prague for Unofficial Visit

LD0604105393 Prague CTK in English 0101 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Prague/Warsaw April 6 (CTK)—Polish Premier Hanna Suchocka arrived in Prague today for an unofficial day-long visit during which she will meet with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and President Vaclav Havel.

On the eve of her visit, Suchocka said that Poland and the Czech Republic are two close neighbours which have one goal in common—integration into united Europe.

This is Suchocka's first visit to the Czech Republic since the split of the Czechoslovak Federation on January 1, 1993.

She met Klaus for the last time at the world economic forum in Davos, Switzerland, two months ago.

The Polish press expects her talks in Prague to focus on bilateral relations and on cooperation within the Visegrad Group (the Czech and Slovak republics, Hungary and Poland).

Suchocka's liking for classical music, especially opera, noted by the Polish daily "GAZETA WYBORCZA" today, will be also confirmed during her Prague visit. Tonight, she is scheduled to attend the opening of a cycle of concerts organised by the Prague Mozart Academy.

Discusses Visegrad Group

LD0604184193 Prague CTK in English 1757 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—The Czech and Polish premiers, Vaclav Klaus and Hanna Suchocka, agreed today to open more border crossings between the Czech Republic and Poland, Suchocka told journalists after her talks with Klaus.

They also agreed to speed up the signing of an agreement on a free trade zone between the Visegrad group members—the Czech and Slovak Republics, Poland and Hungary.

Klaus said he agreed with Suchocka, who is here on a one-day unofficial visit, that there is no reason for the two countries to compete on their way to Europe. Both the Czech Republic and Poland must state firmly and clearly their stands towards the European Community (EC), Klaus said. He noted that the two countries' common problem in relation to the EC may be a certain protectionist policy of the EC countries as regards exports of food, farm produce, steel, coal and textiles from the central European countries.

We feel that we must say this aloud, Klaus said.

Klaus said he hoped a Czech-Polish agreement on the protection of investments and on preventing double taxation would be signed during his planned visit to Poland.

Klaus was invited for an official visit to Poland by Suchocka earlier in the day. He told journalists he was willing to go to Poland very soon in order to demonstrate on the Polish soil our interest in the best possible Czech-Polish relations.

Asked whether the different views of Czech and Polish representatives on the importance of the Visegrad group have come closer, Suchocka said that bureaucracy within the Visegrad group should be removed.

Klaus said that some problems could be solved better within the group but others were easier to solve on a bilateral basis. There are also matters on which the Visegrad group members hold different opinions, for instance the problem of refugees. The interests of Germany's immediate neighbours, that is the Czech Republic, Poland and also Austria, are different from those of Slovakia or Hungary, he said.

On Monday, Suchocka told CTK that Premier Klaus has always been rather sceptical about the Visegrad group while Poland seems to attach more significance to it.

After her three-hour meeting with Klaus, Suchocka told journalists she was very much content with the talks.

Commends Talks With Klaus

LD0604201293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka is paying a working visit to Prague today.

[Reporter] She had talks with Vaclav Klaus, the head of the Czech cabinet, for almost three hours. This was the prime minister's fourth meeting with Vaclav Klaus, but the first since the establishment of the independent Czech Republic.

[Begin Suchocka recording] The talks were very good. In our conversation with Premier Klaus, we discussed issues relating to the European Community and also, first and foremost, issues relating to bilateral relations between the Czech and Polish republics: the issues of borders, our common stance with regard to the German asylum law, as well as the matter of encouraging our mutual economic and cultural relations. We also decided that the next meeting will be held in Warsaw. This will be an official visit which the prime minister will pay at my invitation. During the course of this visit we will probably sign agreements on avoidance of double taxation and on investment protection.

[Reporter] In the afternoon Hanna Suchocka was a guest of Vaclav Havel. She described the nature of her meeting with the president as more private than the meeting with Prime Minister Klaus. They aired topics similar to those discussed by the government heads. According to Hanna Suchocka, President Havel is very interested in the development of relations with Poland. [passage omitted]

Military Cooperation Agreement Signed With UK

LD0604204193 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1800 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] A memorandum on a program of contacts between the Armed Forces of the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom was signed today by Defense Minister Antonin Baudys and Archibald Hamilton, minister of state for the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom.

The memorandum expressed both sides' efforts to strengthen overall security and stability in Europe and support for the work schedule of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council.

By signing the document today, Minister Hamilton concluded his two-day working visit to the Czech Republic.

ODA Denies Havel Displeased With Foreign Policy

LD0604202093 Prague CTK in English 1852 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel wants to promote the government's foreign policy, Pavel Bratinka, deputy chairman of the government coalition Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), told journalists today after the ODA leadership met with the president.

There is no sign whatsoever of some discontent on the part of the president or an indication that the president is not willing to push forth our external political interests just because he has had some political disagreements with this or that person from the government coalition, Bratinka, who is Czech deputy foreign minister, said.

He admitted, however, that communication between the Foreign Ministry and the presidential office is not sufficient. We have assured the president that we will seek to provide him with necessary information, Bratinka said.

ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda said the president was aware that he is representing the Czech Republic abroad and actually implementing policy of the government coalition.

Bratinka criticised Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus for insufficient coordination of foreign policy between the Foreign Ministry and the government. He said coordination of foreign policy between the ministry and the premier is not one hundred per cent.

Bratinka noted that at numerous talks with foreign politicians he got the impression that Klaus's critical statements on the Visegrad group and the European Community are being used against Czech interests.

World Bank Affiliate Assesses Investment Risk

AU0504155293 Prague CTK in English 1236 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 1 (CTK)—The Czech Republic is an excellent partner and a very favorable place for investments, the vice-president of the International Finance Corporation (IFC), Wilfried Keffenberger told journalists here today.

He added that the Czech Government is improving the climate for investments in the republic.

Noting that the IFC only invests in private companies, Keffenberger said that the privatization process, launched at the end of 1991, considerably broadened the scope for investments into entirely Czech companies.

The IFC, founded in 1956 as an affiliate of the World Bank to encourage the growth of productive private enterprise in its member countries, has already placed its investments in some financial areas in the Czech Republic, Keffenberger said. He added that at the end of 1992 the IFC granted a loan worth 200 million German marks to the Czech-German Skoda-Volkswagen joint venture in Mlada Boleslav, central Bohemia.

The capital share of the former Czechoslovakia in the IFC amounted to $8.72 million. After the federation's split into the independent Czech and Slovak Republics at the end of 1992, the share of the former totals $5.81 million and that of the latter amounts to $2.91.

Number of Registered Political Parties Reported

AU0504122493 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Mar 93 p 3

["vy"-signed report: "Choice of Citizenship"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—A total of 1,403 citizens of the Czech Republic opted for the citizenship of the Slovak Republic by means of a written statement by the end of March. Most of them were soldiers and police members. By the end of February, almost 30,000 Slovaks living in the Czech Republic asked to be released from Slovak citizenship. They require a document to this effect to be

able to apply for Czech citizenship, leading representatives of the Slovak Interior Ministry Section for Public Administration told reporters yesterday. [passage omitted]

Engineer Peter Stuhl, the section's director, spoke about the amended law on association in political parties and political movements. Under the amendment, only those political parties and movements that are registered and based on the territory of the Slovak Republic can engage in political activity in Slovakia. As of 1 March, the Ministry of Interior registered 33 political parties and 18 political movements. Reporters also learned that new elections to local self-administration bodies will be held in 67 communities in 28 districts of the Slovak Republic on 29 May. [passage omitted]

KSCM Participation in Bloc 'Unacceptable' for LSU

AU0604123093 Prague CTK in English 1956 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 2 (CTK)—The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) participation in the Realistic Bloc is unacceptable for the Liberal Social Union (LSU), the LSU spokesman Ales Vebr told CTK today.

He reacted to Friday's [2 April] statement of KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda who favored the idea of left parties' cooperation in the Realistic Bloc.

The LSU declares that the result of the informative meeting with Czech Socialist Democratic Party (CSSD) Chairman Milos Zeman on March 26 was a communique expressing the two parties' agreement on the necessary cooperation of the non-communist parties within a democratic opposition, said Vebr.

Since the Realistic Bloc is to be a non-communist and democratic alternative to the present government coalition no form of KSCM's participation in it is acceptable, claimed Vebr.

Close cooperation of opposition parties is necessary mainly in approving and rejecting laws, stated Svoboda at Thursday's [1 April] KSCM press conference.

It is necessary for the KSCM to undertake steps to make the cooperation with other left parties feasible, added Svoboda.

Trade With Slovakia Falls in January, February

AU0604125593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Mar 93 p 14

[Article by Makreta Soukupova and Tomas Marek: "Imports Are Rising, Exports Slowly Declining"]

[Text] Prague— According to the estimate made by the Czech Statistical Office, the volume of mutual trade between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic reached 15.6 billion korunas in January and February. In 1992 this volume in the same two-month period was around 32.6 billion korunas. That is, mutual trade reached only about 48 percent of last year's figure. In January this volume was about 5.7 billion korunas, but it rose to 9.9 billion korunas in February.

Foreign trade (excluding trade with the Slovak Republic) registered a deficit of some 2.3 billion korunas within two months. In January there was a surplus of 4.2 billion korunas, and in February, this surplus changed to a deficit of 6.6 billion korunas. In January we imported (apart from imports from Slovakia) goods worth 8.2 billion korunas, and exported 12.4 billion, while in February exports reached 14.1 billion korunas, but imports increased to 20.7 billion korunas. Compared with the same period last year (January, February), the Czech Republic's imports rose by 8 percent. Exports, however, declined almost 24 percent.

In the first two months the Czech Republic' exports to Slovakia represented 24.2 percent of overall exports. Imports from the Slovak Republic represented 19.7 percent of all imports.

In January the volume of mutual trade between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic reached about 35 percent of the monthly average in January last year; in February this figure was 61 percent (this is even more in real terms, since February has fewer days than January). This development indicates a certain improvement. The Czech Republic exported, according to the Czech Statistical Office estimate, goods worth 8.5 billion korunas to Slovakia in January and February, while the value of imports reached 7.1 billion korunas. The trade balance for the two months is, then, a 1.4 billion surplus in favor of the Czech Republic. The most important part of this surplus was created in January (1.1 billion korunas), while in February this trade has become more balanced (only 0.3 billion korunas surplus).

These estimates are based on customs documents, that is, they include all implemented transactions (there could be errors ensuing from the introduction of the new system of documenting trade between the two republics). However, it is not clear from the documents which deals have been paid for and which not.

According to the data provided by the clearing center of the Czech National Bank, between 8 February and yesterday [19 March], there were payments made for goods and service amounting to 8.08 billion korunas, according to the so-called new package [novy blok] (obligations that arose after the currency split). On the other hand, Slovakia paid some 7.12 billion to the Czech Republic. The trade imbalance declined, after a long time, to less than 1 billion korunas. On 15 March, it was still some 1.6 billion korunas. Daily payments from the Czech Republic to Slovakia have risen significantly in March, while in the other direction they remain roughly the same.

Budget Shows Surplus in January, February

AU0604125793 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 2 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Petr Wawrosz: "Favorable Budgetary Results"]

[Text] The Czech Republic budget achieved a surplus of 5.8 billion korunas in the first two months of this year. The prediction that the budget would show a significant deficit after the new tax system was introduced has not been fulfilled. There are a number of reasons for this positive development.

The revenue from the value added tax was not as high as expected (originally it was planned that the revenue would be 8.9 billion korunas higher). However, the result is not so very bad. Together with other types of taxes, the deficit is 3 billion korunas lower than the expected level. The overall difference between the reality and the expected amount of tax receipts was less than 12 billion korunas. Money flowed into the state budget that was not planned as revenue, and which is, in fact, payments due last year. This is mainly the revenue from last year's value added tax and it amounts to 22.3 billion korunas.

Customs duty amounting to 2.3 billion korunas is important on the revenue side. In the first two months alone, 31.7 percent of the sum anticipated for the entire year was collected. Apart from this, 20.8 billion korunas was collected from fees and fines. The expenditure side, too, developed positively. The budget was counting on larger transfers (non-refundable expenditure) to the public sector. In January and February, however, there were savings of 741 million korunas here. This was caused by negligible unemployment—spending on unemployment reached only 2.4 percent of the expected amount.

It is expected that 178 billion korunas will be spent over the year on non-investment subsidies and transfers. In January and February Kc31.2 billion was used, or 17.5 percent of the annual figure—leaving 1.5 billion korunas to be rolled over to the next period. So far, no transfers have been made to civic associations. However, overall expenses from the budget overstepped the expected figure by 6.4 billion korunas. Not only because of this, but also for a number of other reasons, the government is not overestimating the results. As advisers to Prime Minister Klaus have said, the main revenue from the value added tax is still to come to the budget, but it still could happen that this side of the budget could become tight. According to them, the optimistic development should be confirmed by the results for the entire first quarter. On the spending side, the future development of unemployment is a great unknown, and consequently it is not known what amount will be spent on the employment policy. Also, the current high reserves in the commercial banks can influence the budget, for example. Experience abroad (for example, in Hungary) shows that the banks could be without profit if they retain high reserves, which can reflect negatively on their tax collection and can consequently cause a budget deficit. The goal of the government will be to balance the budget.

Official Reports on Bankrupt Businesses in 1993

AU0604170293 Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 3 (CTK)—Rudolf Baranek, chairman of the Association of Czech Entrepreneurs (SP), told journalists today that about 110,000 private businesses, that is 13 percent of the whole amount, went bankrupt in the Czech Republic during the first two months of this year.

Speaking after a meeting of the Union of Moravian and Silesian Entrepreneurs' Council in Brno, South Moravia, Baranek said Czech entrepreneurs believe that medical and social insurance payments ought to be decreased from the current 45 percent to 30 percent at the most. He said this would reduce the total percentage of businessmen's tax and insurance payments by 5 to 7 percent.

According to Baranek, Czech entrepreneurs today decided that owners of hotels, restaurants and pubs in the Czech Republic will stage a walkout on Tuesday, April 6, in protest against the fees for obtaining liquor and tobacco licenses which, in their opinion, put them at a great disadvantage compared to street vendors.

Curtailment of Air Traffic at 5 Bases Planned

LD0404094293 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Military air traffic at five of 12 airbases used by the Army in the Czech Republic is to be wound down before the end of 1993. The information has been given in Mosnov by the commander of Air Force and anti-aircraft defense of the Czech Republic to mayors of towns and villages lying in the vicinity of Mosnov airport near Ostrava.

Rumors surrounding the future of military air traffic in Mosnov and other airfields, which sometimes led to farfetched speculations about the existence of a Czech Air Force mafia, have thus been cleared today. The future plans of our military Air Force have taken on a rational shape.

The Mosnov transport and paratroopers regiment, for instance, is a bit less well off after it handed equipment over to the Slovak Army. On 1 January 1994 the regiment will be moved to Pardubice. Medical air lifts, which are very highly rated, are to continue under the auspices of the military.

Another rumor proven false was the alleged increase in the number of fighters that began flying from Mosnov two years ago despite vociferous protests from the public. [passage omitted]

Daily Responds to Accusation by Ruml

AU0604125993 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 1 Apr 93 p 6

[Statement by Libor Sevcik, chief editor of MLADA FRONTA DNES: "Ruml's Inappropriate Reaction"]

[Text] It is not true that the daily MLADA FRONTA DNES is participating in an organized campaign against Interior Minister Jan Ruml and the ministry's management. It is equally untrue that Jiri Mueller, former chief of the federal security service, who heads the Brno office of MLADA FRONTA DNES, is involved in this campaign. Challenging Minister Ruml's claim, Jaroslav Sabata asserts that he is not an adviser of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. Therefore, nothing is true of what Jan Ruml insinuated or explicitly stated about MLADA FRONTA DNES at his news conference on Tuesday [30 March], to which he did not invite any MLADA FRONTA DNES representative.

Like most nationwide media, MLADA FRONTA DNES has published the criticism of the Interior Ministry management that Mikulas Tomin, chief of the Interior Ministry's Inspection Authority, handed over to parliament. Tomin's objections to the lack of professionalism in the management of one of the most important ministerial departments are very substantive.

Mr. Ruml responded to this criticism in an inappropriate manner. Instead of looking for the causes of this criticism, he is speculating about sinister threads of nonexistent conspiracies, in which MLADA FRONTA DNES is supposed to be playing an important role.

The conjecture put forward [by Ruml]—that MLADA FRONTA DNES employs in Brno Jiri Mueller, who knows Sabata, who knows Meciar, who dislikes Ruml, which is why Meciar foists misinformation upon Sabata, who passes it on to Mueller, who supplies it to MLADA FRONTA DNES—would be laughable, had it not been uttered quite seriously by the minister of the interior and made public on the main television news bulletin.

As similar false accusations raised by the minister of the interior can cause damage to a daily newspaper, the publisher will consider whether it will turn to the courts to request legal redress.

The minister should definitely either furnish evidence to support his assertions or apologize.

In any case, MLADA FRONTA DNES will continue to take a close interest in how the ministry of the interior is managed, in the interest of citizens.

It will not do so within the framework of some kind of organized conspiracy, but out of the simple duty of a newspaper to defend the interests of citizens. Citizens' security is undeniably one such interest.

Papers Reported Missing From Dubcek Crash Site

AU0704085893 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Vladimir Vacha: "How Did Dubcek's Documents Disappear?"]

[Text] Ceske Budejovice—On Wednesday [31 March], after a six-hour hearing, the District Court in Ceske Budejovice sentenced Jan Reznik, former sergeant of the Federal Police Corps, to 12 months in prison and banned him from driving for 2 and ½ years. Reznik was the driver of the car with Alexander Dubcek that crashed at the 88th kilometer on the highway near Humpolec on 1 September last year.

From Reznik's deposition—he made use of the right to remain silent during the investigation and spoke for the first time during the proceedings on Wednesday—it follows that the fate of the documents Dubcek had with him at the time of the accident remains unclear. Reznik said that when he regained consciousness he put them in a bag and gave them to the first policemen to arrive at the scene of the accident. Witness A. Kocman, who was first on the scene and called the police, said he did not see Reznik give the bag to the policeman. To this day, the Social Democratic Party, which owned the documents, has not received them back. In one of the court documents it is said that a police colonel took Dubcek's things after the accident, but it is not known what kind of documents they were.

The Social Democratic Party's lawyer, Dr. Lexa, told a RUDE PRAVO reporter that they had investigated what had happened to the documents, but in vain. The documents consisted, among other things, of letters from Moscow, where Dubcek was expected to testify in the CPSU trial. However, there were other documents that the chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia [Dubcek] had with him. In view of the fact that they have still not been returned their owners, Dr. Lexa submitted a protest in accordance with section 33, since a penal code rule of procedure has been violated. The jury, however, rejected this objection.

Reznik, who was accused of causing bodily injury and subsequently death, said that, as part of a savings program, drivers were ordered by the chief of the garage in Prague to reduce tire pressure on foreign-made BMW cars by some 0.4 or 0.5 atmospheres, since the tires were rapidly wearing and the lower pressure made them last longer; but in practice the tires were not fully satisfactory. This statement was confirmed by the chief of the police garage, Miroslav Slezak. According to Reznik's testimony, after approximately 150 kilometers on the journey from Bratislava to Prague Dubcek changed seats, moving from the front to the back, and did not use his seat belt; neither did the driver. This—as confirmed by expert opinions—could have had a negative impact during the accident, which happened on a road flooded by water. The driver reportedly reduced speed but skidded in an 80-kilometer-per-hour zone—the speed limit in rain—and lost control of the vehicle. It remains unclear

why both Dubcek and the driver were lying 15 meters from the front of the car, while the windshield was not broken and the doors were closed. That is how witness Kocman described the situation. [Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES on 1 April on page 3, in a 400-word report entitled "Dubcek's Driver Sentenced to One Year in Prison," quotes the following witness testimony: "Asked what was the content of the bag that disappeared, L. Lexa said: 'Party documents and letters from Moscow regarding court proceedings against the CPSU, in which Dubcek was expected to testify as a witness.'"]

Commentary Views Clinton Trade Policy

AU0704114193 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Apr 93 p 14

[Commentary by Milos Sklenka: "Clinton's 'Nationalism'"]

[Text] During the last U.S. election campaign, the image was born of the new U.S. President Bill Clinton as "good old Uncle Sam" who would be very tolerant of his allies and friends. It is not even 100 days since his inauguration, however, and this image has completely lost its glitter, at least from the viewpoint of American trade policy.

This is born out not only by the feud between the United States and the EC over the liberalization of mutual trade and reduction of subsidized exports within the framework of the so-called Uruguay round of GATT [General agreement on Tariff and Trade] but also by the reescalating conflict between Washington and Tokyo about import quotas. The fears that the United States under President Clinton would be a very difficult and unyielding trading partner who would uncompromisingly defend the interests of American businessmen were also confirmed by last week's report by Mickey Kantor, President Bill Clinton's special representative for trade negotiations in which Washington accused a total of 44 countries of infringing upon free trade and jeopardizing American business interests. At the same time Kantor warned that Washington was ready to introduce retaliatory measures against these countries in the event of the continuation of their protectionist policies.

Although the report's main focus was on problems in relations with Japan and the EC, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including former Czechoslovakia, were not spared criticism either. Specifically, the report objects that we have introduced unjustified custom duties for a number of imported goods, in violation of GATT provisions, and that we inadequately protect the intellectual rights of American companies on our market.

How are we to understand these accusations? Is Washington really trying to establish a new order in international economic relations or is this just another sign of the new direction of American policy?

Whatever the case may be, concern is aroused by the fact that Washington, which in many cases itself ignores the GATT rules on free trade, has, in fact, appointed itself to the role of judge within the framework of world trade and arbitrarily set the rules defining what is fair and what is unfair, what is protectionism and what is merely the "just" protection of the domestic market.

To which ends will this "nationalism," as Clinton's trade policy has recently often been labelled in the foreign press, lead? Today it is still very difficult to give an unequivocal reply to this question. A great deal will depend on whether the American and West European negotiators manage to find a reasonable compromise at their Washington talks scheduled for 19 and 20 April. Such a compromise could undoubtedly renew GATT's influence and serve as a basis for a new trade code in the interest of a general liberalization of world trade and global economic recovery. However, it will be extremely difficult for Clinton to convince Brussels that the publicly proclaimed U.S. support for free trade is not at variance with the industrial policy practiced at home, whose evident aim is the protection of the domestic market.

It is certain that the essence of the transatlantic relations, shaped during the years of the cold war, is losing its justification today, at least for the United States. Clinton belongs to the young generation of pragmatic politicians who clearly prefer—or so it seems, at least—success on the domestic front to applause abroad. From this it follows that national interests quite visibly come to the fore. It is these interests that immediately define the nature of external conduct.

Environmentalists To Maintain Federal Umbrella

AU0604131693 Prague CTK in English 1509 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 4 (CTK)—The thirty-eight Czech and Slovak environmental organizations grouped under the name Green Circle held an open meeting this weekend at which they vowed to continue coordinate activities in both republics, in the aftermath of Czechoslovakia's division on January 1.

The gathering took place Saturday and Sunday [3 and 4 April] at Helfstyn Castle in North Moravia.

Green Circle members voted to remove the designation Czechoslovak from their title, though the five organizations present from Slovakia expressed the wish to continue working jointly with their Czech colleagues, said Josef Vavrousek, former chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment and a member of the organization's Governing Council.

He said environmental organizations should not only focus on individual actions to protect nature or block specific ecologically-harmful projects, but should also propose constructive environmentally-friendly alternatives.

Green Circle elected a new ten-member Council and Auditing Commission, which includes Vavrousek and former Czech Republic Minister for the Environment Ivan Dejmal.

Meciar Refuses To Negotiate 'Under Pressure'

AU0604114393 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 93 p 3

[Report by Pavol Minarik on an interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Bratislava on 31 March: "Vladimir Meciar: I Am Ready To Negotiate Immediately, But Let the Czech Side Renounce Pressure"]

[Text] Bratislava— "I am ready to negotiate immediately about the entire package of problems, but under one condition. Let the Czech side renounce all means of pressure," Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told RUDE PRAVO on Wednesday [31 March].

He was reacting to Tuesday's [30 March] statement by Czech Transport Minister Jan Strasky that "Slovakia did not want to continue negotiations on property settlement between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic."

"The position presented by Jan Strasky in Pardubice on Tuesday is indicative of the situation into which the Czech Government has maneuvered itself by its steps," Meciar declared.

The Slovak prime minister went on to say that "during Vaclav Klaus' recent official visit to Bratislava, an agreement was prepared that accepted the Czech side's comments to the full extent. The Czech side refused to sign the agreement, however, although previously it had agreed with its wording." He added that the situation was slightly different now because the Slovak Government could not act under pressure from the Czech side and let itself be blackmailed. "It would be good if the Czech Government concluded a settlement with its holders of investment coupons but not by means of references to the Slovak side but with regard to the real state of citizens' property affairs." [sentence as published]

Meciar also said that he and Klaus had concluded a written agreement whereby 40 tonnes of gold would belong to the Slovak Republic after the division of the federation's gold reserves. "Even this agreement has now been called into question. Not only have we not received the agreed 40 tonnes but we have not received even one-third of the common gold." To this must be added 1 billion korunas a month that the Czech side refuses to pay us for the transit of gas, although the Czech Republic itself collects transit fees from other countries, the Slovak prime minister continued. "We lodged a protest against the Czech Republic appropriating the former Czechoslovak flag. We demanded that the subject of negotiations be expanded to include compensation for territory that the Slovak Republic lost at the expense of the Czech Republic after the federation's split, as well as the property of formerly common institutions, but the Czech side is silent," Meciar stressed.

Kovac Meets Representatives of Political Parties

AU0604145893 Prague CTK in English 1210 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 2 (CTK)—Representatives of Slovak parliamentary parties today discussed with President Kovac a controversial law on salaries and other incomes of top officials passed by the Slovak parliament at its 17th session March 25.

The law providing for a rise in salaries and additional payments to top officials in the Slovak legislature, executive branch and judiciary has raised a surge of indignation in the Slovak Republic and been subjected to sharp criticism by opposition parties. The opposition parties stressed it was inappropriate to raise incomes of judges and politicians at a time when financial situation of the majority of the Slovak citizens is worsening.

Slovak Prime Minister and Chairman of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Vladimir Meciar said at the HZDS leadership meeting in Trnava March 27 that if he had been present at the parliament session, the law would have never been approved.

Under the Slovak constitution, the president can return laws to the parliament with his objections within 15 days after their approval.

Kovac Wants Compensation for Land Given to Poland

AU0604150493 Prague CTK in English 1901 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 2 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac thinks that the Czechs should compensate Slovakia for the eight Slovak villages which went to Poland in 1945 in exchange for a corresponding territory in the Tesin region, north Moravia.

He told journalists that Slovakia would like the know-how of the former federal bodies, the Czechoslovak Airlines, the Czechoslovak travel agency Cedok and the value of the Czechoslovak flag, which the Czech Republic had kept to itself, to be included in property settlement between the Czech and Slovak Republics, successors to Czechoslovakia.

Kovac said in Prague on March 31 that the long-awaited agreement on property settlement could be concluded by mid-April.

The agreement will wind up the process of division of Czechoslovakia.

Kovac Urges More Optimistic Media Reports

AU0604135293 Prague CTK in English 1915 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 2 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac would welcome if media did not seek only negative

aspects of the work of politicians, the government, parliament and political parties, but carried views that are not conducive to general skepticism or pessimism.

Kovac today met with members of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists (SSN). Its chairman Julius Gembicky said that criticism and a certain degree of opposition approach formed the basis of journalists' profession.

He stressed that journalism could fulfill its control role only if it followed developments from the critical point of view.

Minister Moravcik Discusses Gabcikovo Dispute

LD0604204593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Following the government meeting, our editor, Anna Samelova, attended a news conference this afternoon and compiled the following report:

[Samelova] Although the government devoted itself to many interesting proposals at its meeting today, the majority of which it approved, journalists' attention was directed primarily on the issue of the submission of the dispute between the Hungarian and Slovak Republic about the Gabcikovo hydro-electric project to the International Court of Justice in the Hague. Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik said in this connection that both sides have already agreed on the text of an agreement that they are going to submit to the court. This agreement will be signed in Brussels tomorrow by the state secretaries of foreign ministries, Jan Lisuch and Janos Martonyi.

Asked about the substance of the agreement, the minister replied:

[Begin Moravcik recording] The most important part is the raising of questions with which the court should deal. This involves three basic areas of issues. The first is what justified the Hungarian Republic to suspend and subsequently cease work on the Nagymaros and Gabcikovo project in 1989; the second is whether the then CSFR was justified in implementing the so called temporary solution in the form of the 'C' variant; and the third is what are the legal effects of the notification by which the Hungarian Republic rescinded the original agreements. This is the basic legal framework within which the whole procedure will be tackled. Depending on how these questions are answered, the court will then be requested to tackle the legal ramification, including the question of the restitution of the damage, which our side is asserting in this way. Another important question, which up to last week was contentious, was whether the signing of this particular agreement should be linked to the agreement on the temporary water regime. We have dropped our demand that the signing of this particular agreement be linked to this very agreement on the temporary water regime. We have agreed, and this is expressed in Article four of this particular agreement that neither of the parties will demand from the International Court of Justice a temporary measure that would lead to the establishment of a water economy regime along the whole system. This means that in this way we have excluded this issue from becoming a subject of dispute, and it will therefore be up to both sides to agree, with the assistance of the EC, on this temporary water regime. [end recording]

[Samelova] One needs to add that this agreement has the character of a so called presidential agreement, which means that apart from the president, the document must also be ratified by the parliaments. The agreement will come into force only after the ratification papers have been exchanged. Minister Moravcik estimates the length of this process as between two and three years, and he regards the existing legal agreements on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro-electric project made in the past project as arguments testifying to Slovakia's benefit. [passage omitted]

CTK Reports Incident Involving Andrejcak, Critic

AU0604170593 Prague CTK in English 0849 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava April 5 (CTK)—[passage omitted] SMENA, the daily close to the ruling HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], comments on the incident at the Kosice, east Slovakia, airport in the March 25-26 night, when Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak was leaving Kosice for Bratislava. Andrejcak refused to take the plane prepared, because its crew was to be headed by Peter Svec, member of the Association of Slovak Soldiers. SMENA recalls that Andrejcak criticized a statement made by Svec when he was an independent deputy in the Czechoslovak parliament, in which he allegedly said that if Andrejcak became the defense minister, he (Svec) would not serve under his command.

SMENA believes that Andrejcak thus violated the Slovak Constitution, under which nobody may be punished for his statements while a parliament deputy. Furthermore, the daily thinks that Andrejcak violated the army regulations as well, since passengers are not allowed either to disturb or impair the crew's psychic abilities before the flight.

Cabinet Satisfied With Fulfilment of Program

LD0504201693 Prague CTK in English 1902 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 5 (CTK)—Members of the Slovak cabinet are satisfied with the fulfillment of the government' programme, Jaroslav Kubecka, minister of economics, told CTK after the government's extraordinary session today.

Kubecka is convinced that the parliament will approve a preliminary report on the fulfilment of the government's programme which was discussed by the cabinet members today. We have not been working in order to be dismissed by the parliament, he added.

Kubecka noted the report did not concern basic points of the programme but related solely to the new situation which has arisen after Slovakia became independent (at the beginning of the year). For the first time we are acting as a state, he stated.

He said the Slovak economy would not survive without hard currency resources, pointing to the important role of Slovak trade missions abroad.

Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik noted that Slovakia's trade and diplomatic missions abroad would not be separated in future but will act as a single representation.

Slovak Privatisation Minister Lubomir Dolgos told CTK that the second wave of coupon privatisation in the Slovak Republic will be carried out, notwithstanding any speculations.

He stressed, however, that the ratio in which the coupon method and non-standard forms would be used during the second privatisation wave will differ from that applied in the last year's first wave. Dolgos said approximately one-third of each joint stock company's shares would be sold to coupon holders while the rest would be privatised by standard methods.

The Privatisation Ministry, Dolgos said, has failed to speed up handling privatisation projects and it thus seems that privatisation is stuck. He said one of the reasons of the current state was violation of agreements between different economic branches, though privatisation projects had been approved by the government and were thus binding for all parties concerned.

HZDS Rejects Minister Ruml's Accusations

AU0604130193 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 2 Apr 93 p 1

[CTK report: "Untrue Statements"]

[Text] Bratislava— The statement by Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] is waging an organized campaign against the minister and the management of the ministry is totally untrue, according to the HZDS. This was stated by HZDS Press Secretary Ivana Salczerova.

At a news conference on Tuesday [30 March] Minister Ruml declared that he was an inconvenient politician for the Slovak side because some of the measures he enforces, particularly the introduction of a standard border regime [at the Czech-Slovak border], are opposed by the Slovak side. According to the HZDS press secretary, the HZDS has always sought to maintain good relations with the Czech Republic. "Quite the contrary, it seems that disinformation and misleading information of this kind constitute a campaign," says the HZDS statement.

Knazko Leads Split From HZDS

LD0604212793 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 6 (CTK)—Seven deputies to the Slovak Parliament from the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) today joined Milan Knazko, former foreign minister, in leaving the HZDS group of deputies and forming a group of independent deputies chaired by Knazko.

This was announced in a communique given to CTK by the group of independent deputies to the National Council of the Slovak Republic (parliament).

Knazko, who was dismissed as foreign minister due to his protracted dispute with HZDS Chairman and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar on March 19, left the HZDS and its group of deputies at the party's congress in Trnava, west Slovakia, on March 28.

The seven former HZDS deputies said they had left the party because they could not identify themselves with all political decisions of the movement in the areas of the economy, social and health care, education, culture, as well as civic freedoms and the HZDS' inner-party development.

The independent deputies are alarmed by the alleged return of methods employed under the former communist regime before November 1989. This concerns particularly the elements of state dirigism [as received] in the economy, slowing down of the privatisation process, etc, the deputies said in their communique.

An independent group in the Slovak Parliament may be formed if at least five deputies so decide.

The ruling HZDS will now have only 66 instead of its former 74 votes in the 150-seat Slovak Parliament.

SNS To Change Party Orientation

AU0604191093 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 5 Apr 93 p 4

[Commentary by Alena Melicharkova: "The Slovak National Party Embraces the Civic Principle"]

[Text] During the talks on the CSFR's partition, the first speculation appeared in public and in the Slovak National Party [SNS] as to the direction that this nationally oriented party would take after the founding of the independent Slovak Republic. Many of its members were not ready, and are still not ready today, to concede the possibility of the SNS gradually abandoning the national principle. After all, it was precisely this principle that earned it 15 seats in the National Council of the Slovak Republic in last year's parliamentary elections (apart from its seats in the Federal Assembly). Thanks to them, the SNS became a quiet coalition partner of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, and for more than nine months has exerted a direct influence on the decisions of executive power and Parliament.

After the weekend [3 to 4 April] deliberations of the SNS Central Council, the public has learned that the party's representatives have decided to submit to the approaching SNS Assembly the proposal to change the party's name. The SNS should become the National Democratic Party-SNS and, in the long run, the part of the name after the hyphen ought to be dropped. Justifying this change, SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak argues that the primary program aim of the party has already been fulfilled. According to Cernak, from now on the party should concentrate on two other cornerstones: "The free citizen and the self-administered community under the conditions of the independent state." The SNS leadership expects the delegates to the assembly to show understanding and agree to the party turning away from the national principle toward the civic principle. "The fate of Slovakia is in the hands of the citizens of Slovakia" is to become the motto of the SNS program.

The new SNS should also pay far greater attention to the problems of economic life of the republic. Even though the outline of the SNS's economic program and that of the Party of the Democratic Left are as alike as two peas in a pod, the SNS will obviously be swinging far further (if not completely) to the right of the political spectrum. A prerequisite of this will be the party's first serious contacts and efforts to establish cooperation with leading conservative parties in Europe. Ludovit Cernak is even considering establishing close cooperation with the Czech Civic Democratic Party [ODS], which, according to him, is the closest to the SNS of the parties in the Czech Republic. The SNS's more active contacts with Slovak right-wing parties should not be ignored either. In this context the "courting" of Jan Holcik does not seem to be as absurd as the public perceives it. (The ODS ran in the elections in the Slovak Republic on one ticket with the Democratic Party, whose chairman was Jan Holcik.) It will be interesting to see how the relatively small SNS membership base will respond to the plans of the leadership.

Hungarian Minority Organization Changes Name

AU0704085493 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 5 Apr 93 p 4 (tentative)

[TA SR report: "Csemadok With a New Name"]

[Excerpts] Dunajska Streda— Social and Cultural Union of Hungarians in Slovakia [Spolocensky a osvetovy zvaz Madarov na Slovensku] is the new name of Csemadok—Democratic Union of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. The new name was adopted by the 241 delegates to the union's 17th General Assembly at Dunajska Streda on Saturday [3 April]. In an extensive debate, the delegates evaluated the union's activities in the cultural and social spheres thus far. [passage omitted]

Viktor (Gyozo) Bauer, the former chairman of Csemadok, was elected chairman of the union. [passage omitted]

Police Arrest Uranium Smugglers

AU0704100093 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 3 Apr 93 p 9

[Report by Aneta Hofmannova: "Clouds Over the King's Crown"]

[Excerpts] In recent days, the case of Jan Farkas of Rimavska Sobota has been frequently discussed in the papers. His name has appeared in connection with the car belonging to the Fizik brothers, in which uranium was found. Jan Farkas was apprehended and interrogated. [passage omitted]

By the decision of the investigator at the Police Corps District Office in Zvolen, criminal proceedings were launched against Jan Fizik, Juraj Fizik, and—by a separate decision—against Jan Farkas, for the crime according to Article 124a, paragraph I., of the penal code, that is, for having in his possession radioisotopes of uranium 235 and 238, to an amount of about 2.86 kilograms. In January 1992, Jan Farkas sold it in exchange for a Mitsubishi car, worth some 1 million korunas. It was treated, of course, without the necessary precautions.

According to the testimony, brothers Jan and Juraj acquired it from Jan Farkas, on his offering them compensation for their financial support in the election campaign of the Party of Security and Labor in 1992. According to the two accused men, they provided more than 1 million korunas to the leader of this party to boost his election success. Jan Farkas promised them, if he is successful in the elections, that their money would multiply several times over, and would be returned to them.

Well, what does it have to do with uranium? Jan Farkas offered them the aforementioned uranium 235 and 238 as compensation for their funds [provided in the election campaign]. Moreover, he promised that he would help sell it and acquire a sum amounting to $200,000.

The material was tested in a laboratory in the Special Department of the Hygiene and Epidemiology in Banska Bystrica, and it was confirmed that the material actually consists of radio-nuclides [radionuklidy] to which special rules of distribution and regime apply.

It was also found that this radioactive material was acquired in and transported from the VLK [expansion unknown] company in Rimavska Sobota, whose owner is Farkas. It was supposed to be distributed to certain entities in the Topolcany district. Jan Farkas is denying everything and says that these are fabrications. [passage omitted]

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 5 April on page 1, in a 200-word TA SR article entitled "J. Farkas in Custody," states the following: "According to information provided by Jozef Simko, Commander of the District Command of the Police Corps of the Slovak Republic in Rimavska Sobota, Jan Farkas was arrested on the basis of a warrant delivered to the District Command from the Regional Court in Banska Bystrica on Saturday (3 April)"]

Estonian Foreign Minister Velliste Arrives

LD0504133993 Budapest MTI in English 1234 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 5 (MTI)—Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste arrived in Hungary on Monday, at the invitation of his Hungarian counterpart Geza Jeszenszky.

During his visit, Velliste will meet Hungarian President Arpad Goncz.

Holds Press Conference

LD0604175593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Excerpts] The Hungarian and Estonian foreign ministers held a joint press briefing following the press briefing by the foreign affairs spokesman. Gabor Nemes represented our editorial board.

[Nemes] Hungary and Slovakia have agreed on signing the statement tomorrow, 7 April, according to which they accept the arbitration of the International Court of Justice in the Hague. [passage omitted]

Geza Jeszenszky called attention to the fact that it was important for both Estonia and Hungary to be on good terms with Russia. Then he spoke of the minorities as follows:

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] Both countries, as well as their governments, are of the opinion that satisfied minorities strengthen the stability of a country. I believe Estonia is really aware of the importance that Russians living in Estonia should be even more satisfied citizens. [end recording]

[Nemes] In reply to a question, the Estonian foreign minister firmly rejected Russian President Yeltsin's statement, made in Vancouver, announcing that he would make the pace of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics dependent on the treatment of Russian minorities there. Instead, Foreign Minister Vellitse disapproved the misery of the Finno-Ugric minorities, that is, of the Ostyaks and the Voguls. At the same time, as far as the demands of the Estonians are concerned, he seemed to be optimistic concerning the essence of things.

[Begin Vellitse recording in Estonian with Hungarian translation superimposed] I hope there will be no Russian Army in Estonia by Christmas this year. [end recording]

German Defense Minister Meets With Antall

LD0604185393 Budapest DUNA TV in Hungarian 1645 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Excerpts] German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe left Budapest tonight following his successful discussions. [passage omitted]

The German defense minister was also received today by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. In response to Ruehe's question, the Hungarian head of government analyzed the situation of Hungarians beyond the borders. During the discussion, the German politician promised that his country would promote the ratification of the Hungarian association agreement concluded with the EC.

At his news conference this afternoon, Ruehe said, in response to a question, that Hungary already has a favored relationship with NATO and there is no need, at present, for any more than this.

He again commented on the Bonn decision, according to which Germany will supply spare parts for the Hungarian Army and training aircraft for purposes of further training free of charge.

Signs Agreement With Fur

LD0604173693 Budapest MTI in English 1601 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 6 (MTI)—Ministers of Defence Lajos Fur of Hungary and Volker Ruehe of Germany signed an agreement on military cooperation, for an indefinite period, in Budapest on Tuesday, covering the exchange of information and views on security policy, defence legislation, arms control, and training.

The German minister of defence cut short his visit to Hungary to appear before the German Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe on Tuesday, in connection with the foreign use of AWACS [Airborne Warning and Control System] aircraft.

With the press in Budapest on Tuesday, Voker Ruehe stressed that soldiers of the two countries should keep close links.

He confirmed that a decision had been made in Bonn on the delivery of free components from the former GDR People's Army to Hungary, but the minister declined to discuss the value of these.

The components would keep existing weapons systems operating, the Hungarian Army will also get aircraft for training, he said.

Ruehe also said Germany participates in the military supervision of the no-fly zone over Bosnia, but will not send ground troops to the crisis zone for constitutional and historical reasons.

MTI's correspondent asked the minister about security guarantees NATO is to provide Hungary in return for Budapest's decision to allow peace-keeping forces to cross the country, for AWACS aircraft to use Hungarian airspace, and for Hercules aid aircraft to also fly over the country, if the need arises, and, according to recent discussions, foreign patrol boats on the Hungarian section of the Danube to control the UN embargo, although Budapest did not request this.

The German minister of defence replied that these matters are coordinated by the UN and the Western European Union, and not by NATO. In his view, Hungary has a special link with NATO, and this is sufficient for the time being.

Also in answer to MTI's question, Hungarian Minister of Defence Lajos Fur added that Budapest does not request security guarantees from NATO, as the time has not come for such requests as yet.

Minister Submits Railroad Privatization Bill

LD0604113193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0715 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Speech by Gyorgy Schamschula, minister of transport, telecommunications and water management, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed House: The draft bill in front of you incorporates in a new, unified, and modern way the legal regulation necessary for ensuring railroad transportation operation. This law affects an important part of the national economy which constitutes the backbone of the Hungarian transportation system and which influences fundamentally the effectiveness of the operation of the economy. It suffices to mention that the railroad presently carries about one-half of all public long-distance passenger traffic and more than one-third of all freight. It carries nearly two-thirds of the export, import, and transit goods. In addition to these benefits of the railroads, there is the advantage—hardly definable in terms of numbers—that it does its job in an environmentally protective manner.

In order to exploit the advantages stemming from our homeland's geographical position and to increase the role of an environment-friendly form of transportation, the soonest possible creation of a railroad infrastructure which fits in with the European network is very important. [passage omitted]

The more significant elements of the changes [to the 1968 Railroads Act] are the following:

First, with respect to ownership structure, it is fundamentally new in the draft bill that in the future the railroads—from the point of view of ownership—will appear not as a unified whole. In general, the national public rail tracks and accessories related to them will form the exclusive property of the state. On the other hand, the local public rail tracks and accessories—as public assets—will become the property of the self-governments of the particular settlements, while in the capital they will become the property of the Budapest self-government body. The other asset items of railroad transportation may be the property of anybody.

This may create the possibility that the activities of the track authority, which carries out the creation, development, modernization, and maintenance will be economically separated from the activities of the companies which carry out passenger and freight transportation using railroad vehicles.

Stemming from this new functional and organizational structure the track authority is obliged to allow the railroad enterprise company [vallalkozo vasut] to use the rail tracks and the accessories. The rail track and its accessories are handed over by the minister on behalf of the owners, the state and the local governments, to the enterprise companies to use on a contractual basis.

The state and local governments are obliged to ensure the operation, the consumer subsidy of the public service activity, and the full receipt of the revenues stemming from the basic activity of the railroad tracks which they own.

These changes may be considered as a change of regime in the history of the railroads. [passage omitted]

The stabilization and then the development of the economic situation of the railroads can be effected through the reorganisation which is under way, the indispensable budget support, and through the discovery and involvement of external resources. This demands further efforts from railroad workers, the government, and parliament. [passage omitted]

Minister Views Progress of Privatization

AU0604125393 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 2 Apr 93 p 9

[Interview with Privatization Minister Tamas Szabo by Eva Vasvari; place and date not given: "We Should Appreciate the Miracle That Has Happened!"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vasvari] Former finance minister Mihaly Kupa said you were a very good party politician, suggesting that party interests also play a role in the privatization strategy. How true is this?

[Szabo] I do not wish to comment on Kupa's remarks. I have never done so in public, even when I might have had reason to. However, privatization is linked with politics but certainly not on the basis of party political interests. During the elections in 1990, only those parties that advocated the private economy were elected to Parliament. In this sense, therefore, the property reform was indeed a political goal but this is not simply embodied in selling the state's entrepreneurial properties. It is only one of the processes in making the private economy prevail, and, considering its long-term effects, liberalization that facilitates freedom of access to markets is much more important. That is what really removed the obstacles from the development of enterprises, resulting in amazing changes. Let us remember that, since 1989, the number of private enterprises has increased from 200,000 to 500,000, the number of

economic corporations [tarsasag] increased from 10,000 to 170,000, and the number of joint ventures with foreigners increased from barely 500 to 7,000. At the same time, the property reform, regulated by laws, is also satisfactory: Some 3,000 new proprietors have appeared at the local governments, the property of cooperatives has been determined, and compensation affects some 850,000 people directly. Analysts often forget about these achievements and this great progress is not properly appreciated. [passage omitted]

[Vasvari] In December 1992 it was accepted that privatization should be accelerated and the planning of the strategy for this is on the agenda at the moment. What has prevented greater speed so far?

[Szabo] All such statements that depict privatization as slow are misunderstandings or deliberate lies. If it had been as slow as it was claimed to be then, instead of selling, we would be buying by now. Data support the results. In 1990 privatization income was 10 billion forints while in 1992 it was 70 billion. At the same time, more than half of the reorganizations and 60 percent of pre-privatizations took place in 1992. It is a fairytale that the process is slowing down. In fact, the opposite is true. Deliberate alarm is being caused with statements about the low proportion of Hungarian ownership; domestic ownership in the above numbers is perfectly adequate. Why is acceleration on the agenda then? Because, if we know—and we do—that the private economy is more efficient in a competitive environment then we must find owners for the properties we have decided to sell. Otherwise there would be great uncertainty. The managers are waiting and not thinking of business strategy, employees are unsure, and the purchasers and bankers are also waiting. This situation is intolerable. Therefore, it is crucial to resolve it. The other side of the problem is the fact that there is no point in waiting, better times will not come, and the condition of the enterprises will not improve by themselves. For this reason, I am absolutely convinced that there are no methods we cannot refrain from using, and, if necessary, we must introduce the method of mass privatization. [passage omitted]

[Vasvari] All that is happening in privatization at the moment will determine the fate of generations. Is there enough time in one election cycle to complete the job?

[Szabo] In my view, the first and most important question is how far the introduction of the private economy has progressed, and whether the results can be reversed. Well, in Hungary, as a result of liberalization, the private economy produces the greater part of the national income, which means that the changes cannot be reversed. Politics has fulfilled its primary goal and established the dominance of the private economy, although the processes have not yet been completed. Compensation and the determination of the cooperatives' property has not been completed and we are far from the end of privatization. Therefore, I believe that current politics needs a further mandate to protect stability and security. The interests of the continuity of the Hungarian economy and the trust of foreigners equally require that we do not have uncertainty in politics. Other countries had hundreds of years to achieve what we have achieved in only a few years, and the Hungarian economy is struggling with huge tasks under the pressure of time. This is why our results should be better appreciated. Our achievements in the past three years can properly be called a small miracle. Hungary showed a particularly ability to adapt rapidly and we should be the main ones who appreciate this. [passage omitted]

Gasparovic Heads Visiting Slovak Delegation

LD0604172293 Prague CTK in English 1624 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest April 6 (CTK)—Strengthening ties between Hungary and Slovakia and creating the basis for their future cooperation is what Hungary expects from the current visit by Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic, Hungarian Parliament Chairman Gyorgy Szabad told CTK today.

Asked about his view of Slovakia's new proposal concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project on the Danube, the cause of protracted controversy between Slovakia and Hungary, Szabad said Hungary had received the plan with interest and would analyse it. Budapest's view on the proposal will be announced later, he said.

Gasparovic said the visit was taking place at a time when Slovak-Hungarian relations were troubled by a number of problems. However, both Slovak and Hungarian representatives agreed at the very start of their talks that they are interested in quickly solving these problems, he said.

The delegation, which opened a three-day official visit to Hungary today, left Budapest for the east Hungarian town of Bekescsaba, the centre of the Slovak ethnic minority in Hungary, in the afternoon.

Maria Jakabova, the leader of the about 120,000-strong Slovak minority in Hungary, welcomed the visit saying that Slovaks in Hungary expect assistance not only from the Hungarian state but also from Slovakia.

Jakabova is a Hungarian deputy and for many years was the chairman of the Democratic Union of Slovaks in Hungary.

Military Prosecutor Views Crime Statistics

AU0604180093 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 5 Apr 93 p 7

[Interview with Chief Military Prosecutor Dr. Tamas Kovacs by Gyorgy Baranyo; place and date not given: "Soldiers Committed Fewer Crimes and Policemen Committed More Crimes"]

[Excerpts] A total of 2,120 crime reports were registered at the Military Prosecutors' Office in 1992. Crime investigations were conducted in 1,444 cases. We asked Chief Military Prosecutor Tamas Kovacs about the activity of the Military Prosecutors' Office and the crimes committed by the Armed Forces and the police in 1992.

[Baranyo] What is the task of the Military Prosecutors' Office? What is the composition of this body?

[Kovacs] The military prosecutors are part of the general prosecution body and their activity is basically determined by the law on prosecutors. Crime cases make up the bulk of their activity, but they also have a considerable task of crime prevention measures. [passage omitted]

[Baranyo] What is the crime situation in the army according to criminal statistics?

[Kovacs] In April 1992, speaking about the crime situation in the Armed Forces in the Defense Committee of the parliament, I took a risk by forecasting that 1992 could be a year of change. Criminal statistics now indeed show that the continuous increase in the number of crimes in the army stopped in 1992; moreover, the overall number of crimes registered by the military prosecution decreased by 18.5 percent and the number of perpetrators decreased by 14 percent. Compared to 1991, the number of criminals in the army dropped by 235 and the number of criminal cases dropped by 416. This favorable change mainly took place in the military crimes, a drop of 32 percent. Some 90 percent of the perpetrators (1,025 people) were regular conscripts. The number of desertions from the army dropped by half and it stood at 61, and the number of arbitrary departure from army barracks also dropped by 26 percent, and it stood at 214. The considerable drop in the number of crimes committed during guarding or other military tasks also proves the favorable changes in the criminal and disciplinary situation.

[Baranyo] However, one can often read in the newspapers about abusing new conscripts and death cases. How many such cases occurred in 1992?

[Kovacs] A total of 151 such crimes were committed in 1992, compared with 248 such cases in 1991. In my opinion, this improvement of 40 percent derives from the fact that military prosecutors and commanders are paying greater attention to discovering such cases. As for the death cases, there were ten such cases in 1992, involving seven conscripts, two regular soldiers, and one civilian employee. There were 30 suicide cases in 1992, compared with 38 such cases in 1991. Nine soldiers committed suicide, and 21 soldiers tried to commit suicide. [passage omitted]

[Baranyo] What about the crimes committed in the border police units?

[Kovacs] The number of crimes committed in the border police units increased by almost 10 percent and the number of perpetrators increased by 29 percent in 1992. [passage omitted]

Smallholders Party To Cooperate With Hungarian Way

AU0704072893 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Apr 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "FKgP: A Home for the Hungarian Way"]

[Text] Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders Party [FKgP], has published a letter that states:

"In accordance with the spirit of the Independent Smallholders, Agricultural Workers, and Citizens Party, I order that all organizations of our party are obliged to support the Hungarian Way circles and, if necessary, allow their organizations to use our party's own premises.... The FKgP's organizations are obliged to do this, even if some of the Hungarian Way circles show an antagonistic attitude toward the FKgP because the goals of the Hungarian Way circles and the FKgP are blood-brothers.... Finally, we call on everyone for whom the fate of our Hungarian Homeland is precious to join in an election alliance within the framework of the Christian National Union [KNO]."

Torgyan told our correspondent that now, when a left-wing bloc has been established led by the Hungarian Socialist Party, the establishment of a right-wing bloc is imperatively necessary. The FKgP is the main force of this. Extremism is not involved in this and working together with the Hungarian Way does not mean cooperation with a person who reacted to the attack against the FKgP's headquarters in 1992 with a "shrill laughter," Torgyan said without mentioning [Istvan] Csurka's [founder of the Hungarian Way Movement] name. According to Torgyan, interest is growing among some members of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Christian Democratic People's Party in the KNO, the election alliance.

Sejm Committees Postpone Privatization Debate

LD0604164293 Warsaw PAP in English 1507 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 6—Deputies of the two sejm committees: for privatisation and for economic policy, budget and finance failed to form a quorum on Tuesday [6 April] and eventually resolved to postpone the earlier planned three-day debate on the government draft law on privatisation till next week.

The committee for privatisation groups 24 deputies but only 7 appeared at the meeting. The committee for economic policy, budget and finance affiliates 31 deputies and only 6 of them were present.

"This is how the work on mass privatisation looks like: never-ending discussions," Privatisation Minister Janusz Lewandowski said commenting on the postponement.

The only thing the meeting managed to do was to appoint a three-person team to study the proposed changes in the bill.

Interior Minister Against Exposing ex-SB Informers

LD0604184893 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 6—The Minister of Internal Affairs Andrzej Milczanowski declared Tuesday [6 April] he had "fundamental doubts as to the need for and wisdom of" exposing informers of the Communist Secret Police still active in Polish public life.

The minister said his doubts were rooted in the knowledge of the fact that 50 to 60 percent of archival files of the former Secret Police (SB) concerning informers had been destroyed.

Milczanowski told reporters at a press conference held by the ministry's leadership today that, for instance, all files concerning secret informers in the former SB district office in Gdansk were missing. He denied that the files had been destroyed following the dismissal of his predecessor, Antoni Macierewicz, last June.

Milczanowski's skeptical attitude towards the postulated exposure campaign has another reason, too. "One should have serious reservations about the truthfulness of Communist Secret Police officers who supervised informers," he said, explaining that the officers had an interest in exaggerating the numbers of their informers. This led to "large-scale abuses," Milczanowski declared.

Refugee Negotiations With Germany Continue

LD0604200393 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 6—Poland will admit only those unsuccessful asylum-seekers deported from Germany who got there from Poland illegally and after the coming into force of the relevant Polish-German agreement now being negotiated, reporters were told Tuesday [6 April] by top officials of the Polish Interior Ministry.

The latter condition is a matter of controversy, according to Deputy Interior Minister Jerzy Zimowski who has conducted the talks. The Germans would like to be able to deport persons who entered Germany illegally after the coming into force of the new German asylum laws, expected to take effect next May or June.

"We will not accept everyone whom the German side will deem proper labelling an illegal migrant," Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski declared. He stressed Poland would examine every case on an individual basis.

According to Zimowski, the remaining outstanding issues in talks with the Germans were the length of stay in Germany after which an asylum-seeker could not be deported to Poland, and the scope of German administrative and financial assistance to Poland in handling the influx of illegal immigrants deported from Germany.

Zimowski also told reporters that still this month Poland would start bilateral talks on readmission with Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine. It is expected that readmission agreements with the Czech Republic and Slovakia will be signed this month.

The network of such agreements between all the east-central European states should help alleviate the consequences of the new German asylum laws, Zimowski claimed.

Official Explains Need To Protect Arms Industry

AU0604161693 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1 Apr 93 p 3

[Report by Igor Janke: "Protected Weapons"]

[Text] "A draft law on protecting Polish enterprises trading in arms has been prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation," said Director Jan Straus of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation at a meeting of the Sejm Foreign Economic Cooperation Commission on Wednesday [31 March]. The bill should soon be examined by the Council of Ministers.

Gromoslaw Czempinski, deputy minister of internal affairs, said the Office for the Protection of the State and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation are preparing a training program for Polish firms that trade in arms so that they do not fall victim to the ambiguous activities of competitors and foreign special services.

"The Frankfurt blow (the arrest in March 1992 of five Poles, including Rajmund Szwonder, on charges of attempting to sell weapons to Iraq—editorial note) has galvanized the ministry into rapidly creating order in this form of trade," said Deputy Minister Czempinski.

There are 51 enterprises in Poland that are authorized to trade in "special production." However, only three central agencies have a license to sell weapons of all kinds, spare parts, and services. They are Cenzin, Bumar, and Cenrex. Fifteen Polish enterprises are authorized to trade in radioactive materials. Cenzin accounts for 60 percent of all such trade. In addition, spare parts and services account for over half of Polish exports of "special production."

Licenses for production and trade are issued by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation and by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the case of arms, ammunition, and explosive materials. According to UOP estimates, citizens possess twice the number of weapons for which permits have been issued.

According to Straus, arms exports are the most important source of money for the state budget. We also have many debtors. Poland is owed money for arms by: Iraq, $540 million; Syria, $200 million; Russia, $130 million.

Polish firms cannot export arms to countries that appear on so-called negative lists. Weapons cannot be sold if an embargo has been imposed on a given country by the UN Security Council or the CSCE; to a state involved in a conflict or is a participant in a war; if there is a danger of a country supporting terrorism; if human rights are being violated with the help of a country's armed forces.

Countries appearing on negative list "A" (embargoes imposed by the United Nations) are: Yugoslavia, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, the Republic of South Africa, and Liberia. List "B" (which is determined by the Polish authorities) is secret. However, both Director Straus and Andrzej Ananicz, deputy minister of foreign affairs, are in favor of making it public.

Advisory Group Formed To Promote Polish Exports

WS0604121593 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Interview with Polish Minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation Andrzej Arendarski by newscaster Jan Strupczewski in Warsaw on 6 April; from the "Wiadomosci" newscast]

[Text] [Strupczewski] The minister of foreign economic cooperation has established the Council of Promotion, which will advise the Polish minister in the field of Polish exports. In the Wiadomosci studio our guest today is Minister Andrzej Arendarski. Good morning.

[Arendarski] Good morning.

[Strupczewski] Who is on the Council, and what will its tasks be?

[Arendarski] The Council consists of experts, both civil servants from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Office of the Council of Ministers for instance, and businessmen who are extremely interested in the results of this promotion. I simply count on the collective wisdom of this body. I hope it will allow me to spend the limited resources that I have at my disposal as efficiently as possible.

[Strupczewski] All over the world, the promotion of a given country means very good business. Do we also have a chance to turn it into good business in Poland?

[Arendarski] I would draw a line between two things here. Certainly, it is a good business. We are still not very advanced. We do not have all those specialized companies. However, I would like to say one thing. Every zloty, or every dollar spent on promotion makes additional money through bigger exports and bigger investments. Some time ago Andrzej Olechowski described it very accurately with one sentence. He said that there are a lot of good, inexpensive products all over the world. It is promotion that makes someone buy our goods and not those of our competitors. The same thing goes for investments. The investment conditions in Poland are more or less the same with our neighbors. However, the problem lies in how we present our country, and what incentives we give to investors. It is on these things that the creation of new jobs, new technologies, and other things will depend.

[Strupczewski] Thank you.

[Arendarski] Thank you.

Iliescu Recalls Unification Day for Moldovans

AU0604185093 Bucharest DIMINEATA Supplement in Romanian 3-4 Apr 93 p 4

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Valentina Ursu of Radio Chisinau; place and date not given: "The Events Dedicated to the Unification With Romania Mark the Beginning of Events at the National Level Throughout 1993 as a Year of Historic Significance for All of Us"]

[Text] [Ursu] Mr. President, first I want to express thanks on behalf of our listeners for being kind enough to grant this interview to Radio Chisinau on this day, which is significant for all Romanians and which went down in history 75 years ago. I will take this opportunity to ask you a few questions. At one of the events organized to mark the 75th anniversary of Bessarabia's unification with Romania you emphasized that we now have to develop normal relations between the two Romanian states and achieve economic integration and a common cultural area. I would like to ask you what tangible actions should be promoted and, obviously, taken to stimulate and facilitate this integration process?

[Iliescu] First, I would like to take this opportunity to say a few introductory words and convey warm greetings to all Romanians in Moldova and Bessarabia. As you know, on this anniversary we have even set up a National Jubilee Committee to mark the year 1918, which is an important year in Romanian history. The fulfillment of the the Romanian people's secular aspiration in all their historic provinces for unity within a unitary nation state was not an isolated process taking place only in Romania, but it took place throughout Europe following the collapse of the empires that for centuries on end had dominated European politics and whole areas, including our provinces, which had experienced foreign domination—whether Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, or Russian. Following World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, it was the first time our provinces had been reunited in a unitary state on the territory of the ancient Dacian state and the Roman colony of Dacia. It was then that the European peoples' aspirations for self-determination and the creation of nation states was fulfilled. History has never favored us. From this point of view, 1940 marked the year when, on the basis of the Vienna Diktat and the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the integrity of our state was mutilated.

Unfortunately, even today we are living apart in certain zones and territories. However, we have greeted the emergence of the independent state of the Republic of Moldova as a historic event. This is an important moment for the history of the province, which has become a sovereign nation state, and we believe it is natural for the Republic of Moldova to strengthen as a state; something that should not be considered as hostile or as contributing to the deterioration of relations with other states that have emerged on the map of Europe, on the map of this area. We believe that both the Republic of Moldova and Romania should maintain normal, peaceful, and good neighborly relations with all our neighbors, including Ukraine, a new state that has appeared on the map of Europe. With Russia, which will remain a big power and is a country with tremendous natural material and human resources and one of our great neighbors, we are interested in developing normal relations. Thus, it is all the more natural that the Republic of Moldova and Romania develop relations at all levels.

We have taken action in this sense, and this purpose also lent significance to the recent joint commission session. A delegation of the government of the Republic of Moldova led by Mr. Andronati [deputy prime minister] visited our country and held detailed discussions with Romanian government representatives and worked out a tangible program of action, particularly for the economy, encouraging direct relations between economic, industrial, and agricultural units, as well as the development of relations at other levels: Education—including the development of a mutual scholarship system—health care, culture, academic institutions, and human relations. There are some 7,000 [Moldovan] young people gaining secondary and higher education in Romania. I think these relations have to continue, so that substantial relations may develop between the two fraternal states to give concrete shape to the fervent desires that emerge between neighboring countries with a different nationality foundation and even more so between two neighboring countries of the same ethnic origin.

[Ursu] Could you possibly tell us when you plan to sign the treaty of fraternity or why its signing is being delayed?

[Iliescu] It is known why this activity has been delayed both regarding the drafting of the treaty and in practice, especially as far as economic relations are concerned. The conflict in the Dniester region has hampered this activity. The political atmosphere that deteriorated because of this conflict also hampered the development of economic, cultural, and other relations and stopped the process of drafting this treaty. But I think that at this point there are no difficulties and together we should seek a solution. Discussions are currently being held at the two Ministries of Foreign Affairs to finalize, in the course of this year, this treaty, which should not bother anyone and should express the normal desires, needs, and aspirations of our two states.

[Ursu] What further contribution can Romania make to definitively and peacefully solving the conflict in the eastern districts of the Republic of Moldova?

[Iliescu] As far as the conflict in the eastern rayons is concerned, the problem is more complicated and I think that it is largely influenced by the development of events in Russia and the CIS, but especially in Russia, because we are talking about the presence of a certain factor—the 14th Army—and thus of forces that have acted against the political settlement of this problem. I am also talking

of the normal conditions any democratic state has to ensure for ethnic minorities, ethnic groups, including in the Republic of Moldova, where there exists a Russian, Ukrainian, Gagauz, and Bulgarian population. The status of these ethnic minorities has to be clarified, including the Dniester region, where the majority is not of Romanian origin since the Romanians represent some 40 percent, while Russians, Ukrainians, and the other groups taken together represent 60 percent. A suitable formula has to be sought that will satisfy the interests and aspirations of all citizens in the Republic of Moldova. I think that the foreign factor and especially the military one contributed to the deterioration of the atmosphere for tackling these problems in a normal, political way. Consequently, the development of the political situation in Russia constitutes a decisive factor.

As far as we are concerned, we have tried to act as a positive factor of supporting the efforts made by the Republic of Moldova to settle these problems both at home and in relations with Russia and Ukraine. Developments in Russia and overcoming the current conflict in a democratic political way play an important role that will influence the atmosphere in which these problems are broached within the state institutions of the Republic of Moldova.

[Ursu] I just wanted to ask you, how will current developments in Moscow influence political activity in Bucharest?

[Iliescu] Not only as far as Bucharest is concerned, but generally speaking, the situation and developments in Russia, which mark both the political situation and the development of this big state of the Russian Federation, are going to influence the entire situation in that area, in Europe, and throughout the world. Hence this concern of the state authorities in European and non-European states, including the United States!

As a country located in this area and directly influenced by events in the former Soviet Union, including the Russian Federation, Romania is undoubtedly interested in developments there since it will be influenced by what is happening in Russia. Therefore, we are interested that those forces win that are vitally committed to intensifying the process of democratic development in Russia and to promoting essential and fundamental economic reforms that will ensure an improvement in economic activity and the utilization of the tremendous potential that exists in this state. The relations Russia will establish with all the other states in the former Soviet Union will depend on this, as will relations with neighboring countries, countries in that area, including Romania.

[Ursu] To what extent will developments in the Republic of Moldova depend on economic growth in Romania and its progress on the road of the highly developed countries?

[Iliescu] Directly, I think, because we are linked, so to speak, by many historical events and by sentimental aspects like language, culture, and religion. However, the possibility of direct economic interconnection is linked to the progress Romania makes, on the one hand, in strengthening democracy and, on the other, improving economic activity and relaunching the national economy on a new basis in the context of the economic reform and transition to a market economy. This will be a key factor in developing our direct relations, something that will directly assist relations and processes in the Republic of Moldova.

[Ursu] Thank you very much. Returning to the significance of 27 March, what is your message to the Romanians across the River Prut?

[Iliescu] As I said, we are marking these events within the general national context, beginning with what these historic events meant for Bessarabia and ending with their significance for Transylvania, that is, with 1 December, which concluded the reunification process of the Romanian provinces. This shows the significance of creating the National Jubilee Committee, which incorporates all political forces represented in Parliament, as well as other members representing the Church, academic institutions, cultural and educational establishments, the Army, and so forth. Thus the events and the manifestations dedicated to Romania's unification are the beginning of events at the national level marking the entire year of 1993 as a year of historic significance for us. Within this context, I would like to convey warmest greetings to all Romanians across the Prut and all citizens of the Republic of Moldova. I hope our relations will intensify and be based on mutual trust and developed relations at all levels.

Presidency Condemns UDMR Stand on Prefects

AU0604104193 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 1 Apr 93 p 1

[Statement issued by Romania's Presidency in Bucharest on 30 March 1993]

[Text] The Declaration of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Council of Representatives, issued on 27 March 1993 [in Oradea], especially draws the attention of the domestic and international public by totally contradicting the current political reality in Romania and by the tone, contents, and gravity of its assertions, which lack all grounds.

This declaration has been deliberately and malevolently devised to distort the image concerning the situation of the Hungarian ethnic minority in our country.

The generally known and acknowledged fact that the Constitution and laws of our country make provisions that persons belonging to ethnic minorities in Romania may fully exercise their rights to political organization and representation, as well as social and religious expression, sweeps away the basic idea of the declaration, which states that ethnic Hungarians are considered "second-class citizens." The mere existence and activity of the UDMR as a political party organized on the basis of

ethnic criteria, the free election and the representation of the population of Hungarian origin in the country's Parliament and on local administrative bodies, including important offices in the leadership of those bodies, and unrestricted participation of that population in the country's professional and economic activity, both in state-owned and private companies, demonstrate that there is full congruence between the country's laws and social reality, in the sense that both comply with the principle of observing the citizens' fundamental rights, regardless of their ethnic and social origins or their religious convictions.

In a state of law all citizens are equal from the juridical point of view. Thus, public offices cannot be granted on the basis of ethnic criteria. Thirty-nine senators and deputies in Romania's Parliament, 184 mayors, 2,950 local administration councillors, and two county council presidents belong to the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania and those figures illustrate very well the degree to which that minority is represented within the structures of local and state administrative bodies.

According to Romania's Constitution, county prefects are direct local representatives of the governmental authority charged with ensuring the legality and the nationwide coherence of general and local administrative measures. The appointment of prefects, including those in the Harghita and Covasna Counties, is a constitutional prerogative exerted by the current government on the basis of the mandate it received as a result of the general elections held in the autumn of 1992 and on that of assuming the responsibility inferred by the act of governing. No administrative unit in our country's territory—regardless of its ethnic composition or any other criteria related to the ethnic minorities' situation—can be outside the authority of Romania's Government.

The UDMR leadership's allegations that it would locally represent the government or that is associated with the government are totally groundless, especially since this party has voluntarily placed itself in opposition to all our country's previous governments, the latest such instance being its full support for the censure motion submitted to Parliament against the current governmental team.

After the statements recently made by UDMR Honorary President Laszlo Tokes, according to which ethnic Hungarians living in Romania are allegedly subjected to a process of "ethnic cleansing"—allegations which by their monstrosity and falsehood have horrified Romanian and international public opinion and rightfully made people seriously wonder whether he is really able to assess the situation in this country lucidly, which, as he formally claims, is also his country—one expected that UDMR representatives would try to reestablish the truth and thus demonstrate a minimal respect for reality and their duties as a political party represented in the Romanian Parliament.

Instead, the 27 March 1993 Oradea Declaration of the UDMR, by mentioning the process of "ethnic cleansing within the offices subordinated to the government," not only endorses those allegations, but goes even further, by claiming that in Romania there is a decades-long tradition of "policy aiming at nationalist hegemony," which has allegedly led "to the modification of the ethnic composition of various regions of Transylvania."

The "cause" of all these irresponsible allegations, degrading by their falsehood, is the appointment of two prefects in the counties of Harghita and Covasna.

The offensive use of the term "ethnic cleansing" to describe the absolutely constitutional and legal processes in any state of law are bound to create confusion among those who do not know the Romanian reality, and this can cause important material and moral damage to the Romanian state and nation. The phenomenon of "ethnic cleansing," which is based on fascist ideology and consists of systematic aggression, the physical and psychological mutilation of large numbers of people, even genocide, and intended to accomplish the destruction, diaspora, and geographical dislocation of ethnic communities, has absolutely nothing in common with current Romanian political and social reality, and the use of that term is even less justified if it is used to describe the appointment of governmental representatives, even if they are prefects. "The sensitivity of the ethnic Hungarian," as mentioned in the UDMR declaration, cannot be hurt by such a undoubtedly constitutional act, as our laws are equally valid for every Romanian citizen.

The abhorrent and false accusations against Romania's Government—claiming that it is "generating ethnic tension," by means of a "provocative gesture" and a "deliberate provocation," while actually describing a perfectly legal act, which does not interfere in any way with the Hungarian ethnic minority's capacity to express itself politically, socially, economically, or culturally—is a dangerous move by certain UDMR leaders who are engaged in a political game that does not serve the interests either of the Romanian state or the Hungarian ethnic minority living on its territory.

Romania's president appeals to the UDMR leadership to refrain from artificially creating tension with respect to the appointment of the prefects in Harghita and Covasna counties, to comply with the rules of the state of law, the values of European democracy, and constitutional norms regulating its political functions, therefore to withdraw its 27 March 1993 Oradea Declaration.

Romania's president also appeals to all the political and social forces of the country to be calm, act moderately, observe the Constitution, and make joint efforts, more than ever, to pull the country out of the current difficult economic and social situation.

Ilie, FRG's Toepfer Sign Environmental Agreement

AU0604131293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0812 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1993—An agreement on collaboration in environmental protection was signed in Bucharest, on April 5 evening, between the Governments of Romania and the Federal Republic of Germany. The two parties were represented by Aurel Constantin Ilie, minister of water, forestry and environment, and Klaus Toepfer, federal minister of environment of Germany.

The agreement stipulates collaboration between the two countries in the measurement of polluting substance emanations and their reduction in the air, protection of surface and underground water quality, the administration of wastes and the elimination on long term of the effects of old residues, the protection of nature and territorial development, ecological education, specialty cadres' training, general and organizational issues of the environment policy, environment law and economic aspects of that policy.

The agreement is in force for 5 years and renews itself for further five-year periods.

After the signing of the agreement, the German minister of the environment told the press he was "sure the relations between Romania and Germany will not be confined to eliminating scandals that persisted these last few months, allowing instead for a systematic cooperation as far as the environment is concerned". "We hope to find the legal framework as regards cooperation in environment protection, so that we may achieve specific projects in water administration, air cleaning and waste elimination, as well as in environment-conscious education", the German minister added.

The Romanian minister of water, forestry and environment assessed in turn that "the agreement lays foundations to a more detailed program of collaboration between the two ministries".

Toepfer Apologizes for Waste

AU0604131093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0749 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/4/1993—The German minister for the environment, nature protection, and security of reactors, Klaus Toepfer, who arrived on Sunday, 4 April, in Sibiu, publicly presented his apologies during a press conference to the inhabitants of that area where toxic wastes coming from Germany had been stored, and also to the Romanian Government.

At the meeting with the German and the Romanian press held at the Sibiu hotel it was made clear that the aim of the visit paid to Sibiu by the German minister of the environment is to make an on-the-spot information on actions of returning toxic wastes stored in that area.

The direct intervention of the minister of the environment had been necessary after all attempts to find a solution to operations of sending back toxic wastes together with the federal lands involved in the affair were doomed to failure.

Democratic Convention Parties Reorganize

AU0604114993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0840 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/4/1993—Representatives of the 18 political formations in the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] held a meeting at the end of last week [3-4 April] for adopting a protocol on the functioning of CDR and the principles to govern its activity. According to a statement made to the daily newspaper LIBERTATEA by the president of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD], Corneliu Coposu, participants agreed upon the composition and operation of the executive committee, made up of eight members, and of the council of the convention, formed by [consisting of] two delegates coming from each political formation. The executive committee is made up of one delegate, president or his ad-interim, coming from each of the following parties: PNTCD, the Liberal Party [PL], the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], the Ecologist Party of Romania [PER], the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR], the Civic Alliance [AC], and the Association of Former Political Detainees of Romania [AFDPR]. The agreed protocol also stipulates the means for promoting candidates in the elections, and ways to include or eliminate certain formations in the convention, with a majority of two thirds for the executive committee and a simple majority for the council.

Talks Among Army Commanders End 'Unsuccessfully'

LD0604162193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, 6 April (TANJUG)—Negotiations between army commanders of the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which should have been held in Sarajevo airport today, ended unsuccessfully.

Muslim Commander Sefer Halilovic did not show up at the airport; he was allegedly represented by Fikret Muslinovic, whose rank in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army remains unknown. Immediately upon his arrival he distributed propaganda material to journalists and then demanded that the Srebrenica issue be examined separately from other topics of the meeting.

A Serb delegation, which was led by General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], rejected this proposal of the Muslim side by reiterating the previously expressed stand that the problem of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be approached partially, and that the restoration of peace on the entire territory there ought to be discussed.

Armed formations of the Croatian Defense Council were led by Milivoje Petkovic, while the army of the Republic of Croatia was represented by Zvonko Cerenko.

After it became clear that Muslim Commander Sefer Halilovic would not come to the airport, Petkovic left the meeting. Cerenko, however, lodged a protest on behalf of the regular armed forces of the Republic of Croatia over the fact that the meeting had not been attended by a representative of the Yugoslav Army, because, according to him, that army is also an active participant in the armed conflicts in Bosnia.

Finally, a proposal by General Wahlgren, UN Protection Force commander for former Yugoslavia, was accepted that in the present circumstances the participating delegations should exchange views and information on the current cease-fire and ways to make it hold.

Halilovic Discusses Talks

LD0704034693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Chief of General Staff General Sefer Halilovic has sent a letter to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Commander for former Yugoslavia General Wahlgren saying among other things:

It is well-known that the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina proclaimed a unilateral cease-fire immediately before the beginning of the New York peace negotiations, which the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina has observed in all battlefields. Following talks with UNPROFOR representatives in Belgrade on 23 March this year, the aggressor also proclaimed a cease-fire beginning from at 1200 on 28 March.

However, on the very same day, the aggressor continued killing civilians and destroying towns throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. It particularly homed in on the population in the region of Srebrenica.

We would like to stress that when leaving Srebrenica General Morillon promised the local population the following: the cessation of the chetnik offensive, the introduction of the Srebrenica-Tuzla air corridor for the evacuation of the seriously injured and diseased, the opening up of the Srebrenica-Bratunac-Konjevic Polje-Zvornik humanitarian corridor, the deployment of UN military observers in the area of Srebrenica, and the deployment of UNPROFOR forces in Srebrenica.

Since he left, over 60 villages have been burned down, that is, all the villages on the left bank of the Drina river, between Bratunac and the villages of Skelani, [word indistinct] and Bajina Basta and all villages between the village of Skelani and the village of Zeleni Jadar. In the same area, all cemeteries, religious and cultural monuments have been flattened, and whatever the aggressor could possibly kill and destroy has been killed and destroyed. Over the past 24 hours, before the beginning of a meeting between military representatives, the aggressor deployed all its combat potentials in the region of Srebrenica and, with strong artillery support from the territory of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has been conducting a fierce offensive against defense positions in the regions of the village of Zeleni Jadar, (Putmulici), Skenderovici, (Pribilici), Gradina, and Sase. This has directly threatened the lives and survival of 70,000 exhausted and tortured inhabitants of Srebrenica.

Hereby we would like to inform you that we do not accept negotiations with the aggressor unless all combat actions stop before the negotiations start and until the aggressor says that it is suspending every further aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly the offensive against the territory of Srebrenica and until the UN observers are deployed there.

We would also like to present a proposal that after this, appointed negotiators should visit Srebrenica to supervise the cease-fire; negotiations can be held only in that atmosphere, concludes Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Chief of General Staff Sefer Halilovic in a letter sent to UNPROFOR Commander for former Yugoslavia General Wahlgren.

Sarajevo Radio on Talks

AU0604201793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Report by Zoran Pirolic]

[Excerpts] The very beginning of the negotiations of the high-ranking military representatives at Sarajevo Airport was not very promising. The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] refused to comment on the warning by the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army that such talks could not be conducted while Srebrenica was being attacked and the dramatic situation in this part of the country was turning into a tragedy. The UNPROFOR command for former Yugoslavia arrived at Sarajevo Airport fully represented—UNPROFOR commander General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, civilian sector chief Cedric Thornberry, and UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina Philippe Morillon were there. Morillon was the only one willing to make a statement and say what was the basic purpose of the meeting.

[Begin Morillon recording in English fading into translation by reporter] Consolidation of the cease-fire. We are not sure that all sides will be represented. We must wait a little. We will, naturally, also discuss the situation in Srebrenica. As far as we know, the situation in the town is peaceful, but we do not know what the situation is outside the town. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The arrival of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army delegation, consisting of Colonel Fikret Muslimovic and adviser Malik Skalic, was awaited with great interest. At the beginning of the meeting the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army representatives announced: We are only part of the delegation and we will not participate in the talks. We wish to present our statement.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified voice] (?We wish that) there be no verbal statements, [word indistinct] this reception is (?worthless). [end recording]

After this intervention by the aggressor side, the reporters were shown the doors of the hall where the meeting was being held.

It is stressed in the statement by Sefer Halilovic, commander of the General Staff of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which was read afterward, that the aggressor continues to kill, destroy, and conquer territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to create its greater Serbian state. In the last 24 hours before the talks, the aggressor attacked Srebrenica fiercely. The aggressor is attacking defense positions in several villages near Srebrenica, engaging all available resources in the region, and receiving substantial artillery support from the territories of the so-called Yugoslavia. For this reason, Halilovic says that he will not negotiate with the aggressor until the aggressor halts all combat activities, states that he is ending the aggression against our country, especially against the Srebrenica area, and until the UN sends observers to this region.

After reading this statement, the representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army left the meeting. This was subsequently also done by the representative of the aggressor's side. In a short discussion with Wahlgren, they nevertheless stated that they would continue to observe the cease-fire. [passage omitted]

Wahlgren assessed today's completely failed meeting of the military representatives at Sarajevo Airport as follows:

[Begin Wahlgren recording in English fading into translation by reporter] We have completed a meeting that was the first of its kind in a long process, through which we will achieve peace. I asked the gentlemen not to waste too much time on political statements, as making statements has taken up a lot of our time. As you know, the highest-ranking members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation did not arrive. We were all here, however, and one cannot expect for everything to be resolved at one meeting. When we were saying our goodbyes I was given promises that all sides would observe the cease-fire until someone is attacked. We were also promised that everyone will come to the next meeting and help UNPROFOR supervise the cease-fire. I hope that this meeting will be the first in a series of similar meetings aimed at achieving a lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Wahlgren said today after the talks among military representatives at Sarajevo Airport. [end recording]

Silajdzic Sees Karadzic in 'Dead End', Hopes for Peace

AU0604123693 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 6 Apr 93 p 4

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by Branimir Brljevic in Zagreb; date not given: "Karadzic Has Now Hit a Dead End"]

[Text] [Brljevic] Why did the Muslims sign the peace plan only now?

[Silajdzic] The Vance-Owen plan was to divide the internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 largely autonomous provinces, without laying down the preservation of the Bosnian Constitution, laws, and institutions. In the course of the past three months, we achieved corrections in accordance with our wishes.

[Brljevic] The Bosnian Serbs refused to sign the plan....

[Silajdzic] We have to wait. We gave them 10 days: If the peace plan is not signed by then, we will withdraw our signature.

[Brljevic] What concrete changes have you achieved in the peace plan?

[Silajdzic] The preservation of the legality of the Bosnian state. The whole world must not forget that certain democratic principles must be taken into account. Otherwise, the Bosnian precedent will become the cause for a speedy world catastrophe.

[Brljevic] Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic talks of a "disastrous decision by the World Security Council" and means the implementation of the flight ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Silajdzic] Karadzic has finally hit a dead end. If he abandoned his demand for a Serbian state in Bosnia, he would look like a loser to his own people.

[Brljevic] How do you explain the conflicts between Muslims and Croats in central Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] The war is to blame for them. Everyone's blood is boiling, a wrong word is often enough to trigger a conflict. But I am firmly convinced that the Muslims and Croats will soon achieve a harmonious coexistence. The difficulties only arose when the Bosnian provinces were defined as national areas. People who have become a minority overnight are afraid of becoming second-rate citizens.

[Brjlevic] Has an ethnically defined state any chances of survival?

[Silajdzic] If peace is achieved, we will emerge from a black hole. Like everywhere, national human interests will again determine the people's interests.

Silajdzic Says Military Pact With Croats Imminent

AU0604202193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] In about seven to 15 days we will inform Vance and Lord Owen [Conference on Yugoslavia cochairmen] that a Croat-Muslim military pact has been established. This was stated by Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs in the Muslim government in Sarajevo. We do not believe at all in the cease-fire that went into effect on 28 March, Silajdzic said.

UN Attempts To Avoid 'Ethnic Cleansing' Charges

AU0704111693 Paris AFP in English 1102 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, April 7 (AFP) - As shells fell on the besieged eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica Wednesday [7 April], U.N. officials said they will negotiate with Moslem leaders there to evacuate only refugees and not residents.

This is to avoid charges of helping "ethnic cleansing," U.N. relief officials said in Belgrade.

"Sporadic" shells were reported falling on Srebrenica Wednesday, said U.N. military spokesman Bill Karaktin in Sarajevo.

Artillery and small-arms clashes were going on south of Srebrenica, he said, adding that the lines appeared to be stable, with troops of the mainly Moslem Bosnian army holding off attacking Serb forces.

Karaktin said the observers did not report any deaths from the 8:00 a.m. (0600 GMT) shelling, which came on the 11th day of a ceasefire throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina which has reduced fighting on most fronts to relatively low levels.

Sarajevo radio said the Serbs bombarded Srebrenica all night with tanks.

A spokeswoman for the relief effort said in Belgrade: "We are going to negotiate there with Srebrenica's local Moslem authorities and also with the authorities in Tuzla (another Moslem-held enclave northwest of Srebrenica) to try to continue the evacuation of the most vulnerable groups."

Lyndall Sachs, a spokeswoman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Belgrade, said a convoy delivered aid to Srebrenica's 30,000 residents Tuesday. The United Nations seeks to evacuate about 10,000 of the sick and wounded, as well as women and children.

But Moslem authorities refused to allow the empty humanitarian aid trucks to leave the enclave carrying refugees, despite a direct order from President Alija Izetbegovic.

They have accused the U.N. of assisting in Serbian "ethnic cleansing", or forcing populations to depart, by moving the Moslem population out. They have also charged that by emptying the enclave, the United Nations will aid the Serb military effort by making it easier for them to take over Srebrenica.

The United Nations is hoping to avoid these charges with a new evacuation plan that differentiates between Srebrenica's inhabitants and refugees.

The UNHCR estimates that the pre-war population of Srebrenica of 6,500 has been swollen by refugees from villages conquered by Bosnian Serbs to some 30,000.

Another 20,000 or so civilians are in areas around Srebrenica, where Serbs are attacking despite a 10-day old ceasefire throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina that has reduced fighting to relatively low levels through much of the country.

The UNHCR evacuated 5,500 civilians from Srebrenica in earlier convoys, but seven people, four of them children, were crushed to death March 31 when more than 100 people clambered aboard each truck.

Sachs said a new 18-truck convoy would "probably" head for Srebrenica Thursday. [passage omitted]

Gen. Morillon Interviewed on Situation

PM0604154593 Paris LE MONDE in French 6 Apr 93 p 4

[Report by Jean-Baptiste Naudet on 3 April interview in Zagreb with General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina]

[Text] Zagreb—In an interview with LE MONDE in Zagreb Saturday 3 April, General Philippe Morillon, commander of the "blue helmets" in Bosnia, declared that "the time has come to make the Serbs face up to

their responsibilities." He explained how he is trying to preserve the chances of peace, even "if we have to swallow insults."

Gen. Philippe Morillon "couldn't give a damn about his personal image." The commander of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who is "not there to justify (himself)," has read that he has been described as a "Don Quixote." He is unperturbed: "Don Quixote is a very noble hero and did more than just tilt at windmills," even if "that's all that people remember," he explained. Appearances do not concern the French general, who intends to propose to the three warring sides at a 6 April meeting in Sarajevo "specific measures to strengthen a cease-fire that is observed" but "extraordinarily fragile" and to accelerate the "peace process." "This could be the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo," he suggests.

"The important thing," he says, "is the effectiveness of my priority mission—getting the humanitarian aid through—(which) necessitates concessions which journalists call humiliations." "We couldn't give a damn," he retorts, "what counts are the results, not the honor of the 'blue helmets,' which will be the fact that peace is established here one day, with our help." Meanwhile, "if we have to swallow insults, we will swallow insults. And if we have to swallow more than that, we will."

What is important to the leader of the "blue helmets" in Bosnia "is knowing whether we, UNPROFOR, can now play this role of aiding peace." He believes that "the time has come." The general is optimistic and thinks that the "expected and feared" rejection of the peace plan by the Bosnian Serb "parliament" "should not prevent the implementation of at least a number of the military measures accompanying the Vance-Owen plan in order to reduce tension." This should happen even if Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic "fears that this move may gradually enable the Serbs to indefinitely delay a final settlement and to freeze the situation on the ground." "We have no obligation to settle boundary disputes—which are the hardest things to settle among peasants—in the coming days," he thinks. International pressure "must continue to be exerted on the Serbs to make them accept the peace plan now that its principles have been accepted," the general adds; he thinks "the Serbs should be given a little bit of time to make a final commitment."

"Unanimous" Desire for Peace

Even if, as he admits, accepting the map would mean, for some Serbs, not only abandoning regions but also renouncing territorial continuity (Serbia, Bosnia, and Croatian Krajina) and the dream of a "greater Serbia," "the time has come to make them face up to their responsibilities." He has "the feeling, the conviction that the time has come." Not only because international pressure is increasing, even if he thinks the resolution on the air exclusion zone "more academic than anything else." But also because "the desire for peace is gripping the whole population" and it "will be hard for political or military leaders not to take the pressure of public opinion into account." He says that he has found on the ground that that opinion is "beginning to become more than a majority opinion, it is becoming almost unanimous."

If the conflict unfortunately flares up again, "the Security Council will have to take it into account, as it has done since the beginning, in order to change the mandate. All the options are open. We could even," he suggests, "withdraw UNPROFOR. And tell them: 'You want to fight. Go ahead!'" As for taking sides, "you should not be asking me that, but the people in New York who have the responsibilities for this. This is a crucial time," he continues, "an open window, when we can make peace or we can also still topple into violence" which he thinks would be endless.

Gen. Morillon doesn't care that people have only remembered "out of context" the remark when he said he had "not smelled the odor of death in Cerska," a Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia which had just fallen to the Serbs. "The important point is that, when I went to Cerska, certain things were happening in Srebrenica," he says. He disclosed that it was he who sent to Srebrenica a WHO [World Health Organization] medic who raised the alarm about the desperate plight of this besieged Muslim enclave. He went to Srebrenica "to prevent a disaster": "The whole peace process could have been called into question if the Serbs had committed this act of madness, this criminal act" of taking the town. As for "the unpleasant business" of Cerska, "to be frank with you, it was because I made this testimony to the truth that I was able to go to Srebrenica despite all the obstacles. Even if the Serbs did everything to prevent me, because the Serbian people were grateful to me for making this testimony, which nevertheless is not in their favor."

"History Will Judge"

The general, who has "never claimed that this battle (of Cerska) did not have innocent victims," even admits that "there certainly were such people." Today he seems to recognize that "people" may have fired upon fleeing people, as one witness reported, and that "they included men, who were probably carrying weapons, but also women, children, and old people. I never dilated on that point." The "only thing" the general says—because "now that peace is at hand, I think our duty is to calm fears"—is that "the massacre in the form in which it was reported, that is, villagers burned in their homes, was totally false." "History will establish" what actually happened, he concludes. As for what he himself calls his "spectacular actions," which some people accuse of delaying political decisions, people should "wait and see the results" before passing judgment on them.

Meanwhile the commander of the "blue helmets" in Sarajevo is continuing his work of "saving lives, and the results are positive." He does not question the sincerity of the word given by the Serbs, "otherwise I cannot see what use I am." This is despite "problems of implementation on the ground," which he attributes to "communication difficulties," "local initiatives by people who

are more stupid or more stubborn than the rest," and "an extraordinarily compartmentalized system." This system means that, according to Gen. Morillon, a Serb militiaman obeys only his direct commander and rejects orders from Yugoslav President Cosic or Serbian President Milosevic...

The commander of the "blue helmets," "by providing help, without imposing" himself, caring nothing for his personal image, and "without exceeding his powers, whatever people may say," is continuing "to do what the world could not do before: impose peace upon people who did not want it." Even if it does mean swallowing, and making others swallow, the unpalatable.

Muslims Block UN Convoy From Evacuating Civilians

LD0604161793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Bratunac, 6 April (TANJUG)—A UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] convoy that was to take Muslim women and children from Srebrenica to Tuzla returned to Zuti Most near Bratunac empty. [passage omitted]

Convoy leader (Bill Tol) said that hundreds, maybe even 1,000, people had been ready to go, but a local commander did not allow them to leave Srebrenica.

According to (Tol), the Srebrenica commander set conditions—the Canadian Battalion of the UN peace forces is to be sent to Srebrenica on a permanent mission and wounded Muslim soldiers are to be evacuated to Tuzla by air.

It is only after that, (Tol) explained, that the Srebrenica authorities will consent to discuss the evacuation of civilians to Tuzla.

(Tol) stressed that the Serb side, as two days ago, did everything it could to secure unhindered and completely safe evacuation of Muslims from Srebrenica to Tuzla.

When asked by journalists what will happen next, (Tol) refused to answer, but noted that thousands of people had gathered around the convoy in Srebrenica today again.

AFP Reports Blockade

AU0604132293 Paris AFP in English 1314 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Geneva, April 6 (AFP)—Moslem authorities in the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica refused Tuesday [6 April] to let a U.N. convoy begin evacuating civilians despite earlier pledges to cooperate with the operation, a U.N. spokeswoman said here.

The 18-truck convoy arrived in Srebrenica from Belgrade earlier Tuesday and was to begin a three-day operation to evacuate some 5,000 women, children and elderly people from the city, which has been under siege by Serbian forces for a year.

Christiane Berthiaume, a spokeswoman with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said local authorities suddenly refused to let the trucks take on refugees contrary to a promise made Monday by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic.

"We are trying to reach the Bosnia president so that the local Srebrenica officials will go back on their decision," she said.

She said the convoy would unload its supplies of food and bedding.

The trucks were to have taken the refugees to Tuzla, a Bosnian town under Moslem control, 75 kilometers (45 miles) to the northwest.

According to U.N. officials, about 800 people were to have been evacuated daily until a total 10,000 people have been brought out of Srebrenica, which U.N. officials said was on the verge of falling to Serbian forces.

The convoy was held up earlier Tuesday at the Zvornik bridge leading from Serbia to Bosnia by Captain Vlado Dakic, known as "the king of the bridge," Sachs said.

Dakic said he did not have enough people to inspect the trucks. He said this was due to a Serbian holiday. He did not provide further details.

Government, Krajina Representatives Sign Cease-Fire

AU0604161093 Paris AFP in English 1602 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Geneva, April 6 (AFP)—Croatian authorities and officials from the self-declared Serbian republic of Krajina in the south of Croatia signed a cease-fire Tuesday [6 April], U.N. sources said.

The agreement aims to bring to an end fighting which began on January 22 with a Croatian attack on Krajina, in a bid to open a corridor between the north and the south of the republic.

Text of Agreement

LD0604193793 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Dear viewers, good evening. We have received the news of the day from Geneva just before our bulletin. An agreement on the implementation of UN Security Council [UNSC] resolution 802 has been signed in Geneva. The agreement, reached by representatives of the Croatian authorities and rebel Serbs, will also start the process of the implementation of resolution 815 on the establishment of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and of the Croatian authority on the occupied areas.

The agreement means that there will be full safety in areas which were previously targeted by chetnik guns. This is tantamount to yet another victory for Croatia's peaceloving policy and for a peace without casualties. The following is the text of the agreement:

First, in implementing Paragraph One of UNSC resolution 802, the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia will end all hostile activities within or (?near to) zones under UN protection from midnight of the fourth day from when this agreement comes into force. The government of the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities must strictly observe the cease-fire agreement.

Second, the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia will start to return to the demarcation lines established before hostilities broke out on 22 January, within five days from when hostilities cease in accordance with Paragraph One, and they will have to complete the withdrawal in five days in line with a schedule set by the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. The armed forces of the Serb local authorities must not enter areas from which the Croatian Government armed forces have withdrawn.

Third, simultaneously with the withdrawal of the Croatian Government armed forces—which is to be carried out in line with Paragraph Two and with the UNPROFOR schedule which cannot be extended by more than 10 days after hostilities end in accordance with Paragraph One—all heavy weapons must be placed under UNPROFOR control in line with the Vance plan.

Fourth, the Maslenica bridge, Zemunik airport, and the Peruca dam, including all its installations, as well as the roads between Zadar and the bridge, between Zadar and the airport, and between the bridge and Seline via Rovanjska, Sinj, and the dam, must be open to all people for civilian use. In areas mentioned in Paragraph Two, use of these roads and all necessary equipment will be under UNPROFOR's sole control.

Fifth, the sides agree to implement—without delay and under the auspices of UNPROFOR or of the cochairmen—all other provisions of the Vance plan and all relevant UNSC resolutions, including last year's resolution 762. To this end, the sides will start talks under the auspices of the cochairmen within 15 days from when the agreement comes into force.

Sixth, in order to discharge its tasks established with this agreement, UNPROFOR must once more establish and strengthen its military and political presence in all areas from which the Croatian Government armed forces must withdraw in accordance with Paragraph Two before the areas are vacated. The parties will ask the United Nations to reinforce UNPROFOR forces in order to carry out the tasks set in the Vance plan.

Seventh, the agreement comes into force when the cochairmen receive from both sides the assurances mentioned in an appendix to the agreement.

The following is the text of this appendix:

In connection with the agreement on the implementation of resolution 802, both sides assure the cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia that neither side will place its police forces in the areas mentioned in Paragraph Two of this agreement, and they agree that UNPROFOR will discharge all police tasks in these areas during an interim period before an agreement is reached following talks which are to be convened in line with Paragraph Five of this agreement.

Accord Detailed

AU0604173493 Paris AFP in English 1626 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Geneva, April 6 (AFP)—Croatian authorities and officials from the self-declared Serbian republic of Krajina in the south of Croatia signed a ceasefire here Tuesday [6 April], U.N. sources said.

The agreement aims to bring to an end fighting which began on January 22 with a Croatian attack on Krajina, in a bid to open a corridor between the north and the south of the republic.

In order to come into force, the accord has still to be ratified by the self-proclaimed Serb parliament of Krajina, according to the region's "foreign affairs minister," Slobodan Jarcevic.

The agreement calls for the withdrawal within five days of Croatian forces to positions held before their January offensive, and the return of heavy weapons seized by Serbs to U.N. control.

It also calls for U.N. control of three strategic zones: the Maslenica bridge—the initial target of the Croat attack—which when it is repaired will allow the opening of a route between the north and the south of the republic, Zadar airport and the Peruca dam.

These areas will be accessible to both Serbian and Croatian forces, under the agreement.

It also calls on the warring parties to begin fresh negotations within 15 days of the implementation of the ceasefire on the so-called Vance-Owen peace plan for Croatia.

Sporadic fighting has continued in the region ever since the Croatian offensive in January, which failed after strong Serbian resistance. The agreement reached Tuesday followed two months of negotiations.

The agreement was signed in separate ceremonies by Jarcevic on behalf of Krajina and for Croatia by Zvonomir Lerotic, a personal aide to President Franjo Tudjman, U.N. officials said.

Jarcevic Says Assemblies Must Approve Agreement

LD0604203793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Geneva, 6 April (TANJUG)—Slobodan Jarcevic, minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina, told reporters today that the agreement on the implementation of Resolution 802 would take effect only when the Assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina agreed to it.

"We had no mandate to accept the agreement in its proposed form" Jarcevic said, explaining that his partners demanded of the delegation of the republic of Serb Krajina not to reinstate Serbian police and administration in the areas from which Croatia was to withdraw.

Although the other provisions of the agreement on the withdrawal of the Croatian Army were acceptable, Jarcevic maintained that Krajina's representatives could not have signed their obligation to accept the entire document. He stressed that the Assembly has to decide whether it would allow UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] police and administration to take over from its police and administration.

The minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina announced that a joint session of the assemblies of the republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] was scheduled for 10 April, during which they will decide whether to accept or reject the signed document.

Jarcevic added that the signing was obligatory, in that it guarantees the agreement will be submitted to the assembly. Jarcevic is of the opinion that there will be no opposition to the agreement on the part of the republic of Serb Krajina, envisaging the withdrawal of Croatia's Armed Forces in specific terms. He maintains, however, that the withdrawal of Serbian police forces is nevertheless disputable. Since the cochairmen demanded that the entire document be seen as a whole, the parliament will have to decide on the whole arrangement, Jarcevic said.

He did not want to predict the outcome of the Assembly's vote, but he said he believed that the deputies would, in the course of their decisionmaking, bear in mind the fact that too much blood had been shed and that the armed hostilities ought to be ended.

The minister for foreign affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina maintains that the agreement had been signed under very unfavorable circumstances, since Croatia launched a large-scale offensive yesterday on Serbian positions, during the course of which civilians were targeted.

In Jarcevic's words, Lord Owen [Conference on Yugoslavia cohairman] has demanded of both sides to refrain from hostilities in the next few days. "If Croatia ends its latest offensive, the Serbian side guarantees that it will not open fire," Jarcevic stressed.

Since 22 January, the Croats have always started the hostilities, Jarcevic noted, and added that Serbian civilians and soldiers have suffered casualties on their own territory in this war.

The cochairmen of the conference have been acquainted with the fact that the Vance plan is unfair, in that it mentions only the refugees from the republic of Serb Krajina, whereas not a single United Nations document mentions the 300,000 Serbs driven out of Croatia, something that represents the largest ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia.

Jarcevic doubted that Croatia would submit the agreement to its Assembly for adoption, since such a gesture would amount to indirect recognition of Krajina as a state. This prediction has turned out to be true. A member of the Croatian mission in Geneva, Neven Madej, has briefly told the press: "The agreement is signed,and there is no need for the assembly to discuss it."

Serb Party Dissatisfied with Croatian Diplomacy

LD0604212493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] At a press conference in Zagreb today, the Serbian People's Party [SNS] expressed dissatisfaction with Croatian diplomacy, which, as they said, has not imposed itself as an equal international factor in searching for the way out of the crisis. What are their proposals:

[Reporter Visnja Kamenski-Bacun] We are internationally recognized, but obviously not accepted, SNS Chairman Milan Djukic said. A turnabout is necessary. In addition, Croatia has to start resolving its internal issues and relations with its neighbors on its own. On the international diplomatic scene, it has to come out with complete solutions and hold talks, not negotiations. The war crisis has to be overcome through direct top-level talks between Serbia and Croatia, SNS holds, because the international community is obviously inefficient. Hence the attitude toward UN Security Council Resolution 815. Djukic is surprised at the enthusiasm, as if it were the first international recognition of Croatia within its borders.

[begin Djukic recording] This resolution also, by itself, will not mean anything if we do not change our attitude both toward other resolutions and toward the very same resolution 815. Primarily, in our efforts to implement it, we must not allow Krajinas, as an integral part of Croatia, to be viewed only through territories which ought to be conquered, but also through the Serbs as our citizens who live there and who are likewise imprisoned and became hostages, just like the Croats and other ethnic groups living in those areas. [end recording]

[Kamenski-Bacun] The Serb issue in Croatia must be comprehensively resolved; the identification of all the Serbs with Krajinas must be opposed. Asked about the SNS stand toward Simon Wiesenthal's accusations of fascism against Croatia, SNS Vice Chairman Veselin Pejnovic replied:

[begin Pejnovic recording] We are not burdened with the question of whether a diplomacy of a third party, or masonry is at work here; I would rather say that it is the inability of information activities of the Republic of Croatia [sentence as heard]. [end recording]

[Kamenski-Bacun] His proposal for future international talks is: A delegation of Croatia should also include representatives of the Serbs in Croatia.

UNPROFOR Protests Shelling by Serbs, Croats

LD0604163293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Commander General Lars-Eric Wahlgren today sent a letter to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and [President of the republic of Serb Krajina] Goran Hadzic, whom Wahlgren addressed as "the leader of the Knin authorities." The letter condemns both sides for launching artillery attacks on civilian targets last month.

Wahlgren warned that these were clear violations of the Geneva convention, and he urged full observance of the international humanitarian law.

The Serb side attacked 11 times civilian targets in Sector South in March, and the Croatian side eight times, Gen. Wahlgren states in his letter.

Health Ministry Issues Statement on Vukovar Massacre

AU0604093693 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 93 p 3

[HINA report: "The Most Extensive Crime Since World War II]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—"Units of the former Yugoslav People's Army, headed by Major Veselin Sljivancanin, drugged 303 people in Vukovar's hospital and took them by bus to Ovcara before the representatives of the International Red Cross and the EC were allowed to enter the hospital.

"Among these were 200 wounded people, 43 members of the medical and technical staff, and 60 civilians. This act is in violation of the agreement signed by General Andrija Raseta of the former Yugoslav People's Army and Croatian Health Minister Andrija Hebrang. According to the agreement, the former Yugoslav People's Army was supposed to guarantee safe evacuation from the hospital." This was stated by Dr. Ivica Kostovic, head of the information and investigation department of the Croatian Ministry of Health, prior to the investigation of a mass grave at the edge of the forest in Ovcara, near Vukovar. The news conference was also attended by Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo.

It is assumed that the 200 people who were forceably taken from the Vukovar hospital after the occupation of Vukovar are buried in the mass grave.

Having explained the course of events after the occupation of Vukovar, in which according to the Croatian Red Cross some 2,600 people disappeared, Dr. Kostovic said that "some of the greatest crimes in Yugoslavia and Europe since World War II were committed in the Vukovar region." [passage omitted]

President, Government Overcome Policy Differences

AU0704095693 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 4 Apr 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Defense Council: From Now on Without Misunderstandings"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 April—The Defense Council—a consultative body that used to act within the presidency and from now on will supposedly assist the supreme command, which, besides the president of the republic, consists of the defense minister, interior minister, foreign minister, prime minister, chairman of the State Chamber, director of the Security-Information Service, and commanders of the headquarters of the territorial defense and civilian defense—met yesterday. As we have learned, they passed some conclusions regarding the dismissal of soldiers. They also discussed recent misunderstandings between the Ministry of Defense and the president, that is to say, between the government and the president. According to unofficial information, they supposedly adopted some conclusions as to how to avoid problems and misunderstandings like the ones witnessed in recent weeks in the future.

Export of Serbian Wheat Denied

93BA0744A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 8 Mar 93 p 5

[Article by (er): "Wheat Connection Merely Invented"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Mar—"To put it mildly, it is funny," Rudi Kajtner, the chief director of the Zito business system, commented on an article in Belgrade's BORBA. According to the BORBA article, Slovenia is supposed to have exported Serbian wheat.

As Jovo Ivanisevic, president of the Yugoslav Cooperative Federation, maintained in the BORBA article, there is information that Slovenia exported 200,000 tons of wheat to Russia. This is supposed to have been Serbian wheat, and the export through Slovenia is unofficially linked with the grain machinations of former Minister Sava Vlajkovic.

According to BORBA, it is absurd that in spite of a good harvest there is currently no wheat in Serbia, which produces about 2.1 million tons of wheat annually, and needs 1.7 million tons to supply itself. That situation is blamed on a bad policy, which is creating an artificial shortage and is now even talking about importing wheat, BORBA maintains.

This article is certainly more of an absurdity, since, according to Rudi Kajtner, "Slovenia needs 220,000 tons of wheat a year, produces only between 70,000 and 80,000 tons, and imports the rest as wheat or flour from various nearby European countries. For several years now it has not bought either wheat or flour from Serbia, and consequently linking Slovenia with the problems with wheat in Yugoslavia is absurd," Rudi Kajtner said.

Firm Allegedly Exports Serbian Conveyors

93BA0744B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 8 Mar 93 p 5

[Article by D. S.: "Violating the Sanctions Is Fashionable"]

[Text] Rijeka, 7 Mar—Violating the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia is obviously fashionable. The public recently learned about alleged export of Serbian wheat to Slovenia, and about the sale of Slovene medicines or Croatian sweets to Serbia. The Rijeka daily NOVI LIST has exposed the latest case. The private Ljubljana enterprise Alta, which is headed by Desanka Vidacic, is supposed to have offered the coking plant in Bakar near Rijeka conveyor belts from Balkan in Suva Reka at the beginning of January 1993, without caring about the sanctions. The transactions would have taken place with Belgrade's Jugometal as an intermediary, and the coking plant would have paid Serbia for the goods with coke, which would probably have been received by the Smederevo steelworks. The newspaper cites as the biggest ruthlessness the fact that Alta also offered the coking plant its services as an intermediary in negotiations with Serbian enterprises in Austria and Hungary. The coking plant is surprised that Alta is offering Serbian products, since Slovene enterprises also manufacture those belts. Employees are hinting that the offer is associated with interethnic relations, which have been causing the coking plant difficulties for some time now. Director Zvonimir Vrebac has allegedly been offered belts by 10 enterprises from Slovenia and Croatia, and in his opinion Alta's offer is shameless.

Slovene-Croatian Border Dispute Continues

93BA0783B Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 13 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by (tb): "House of Two Presidents"]

[Excerpt] *On a school map, Trdinov Vrh is in Croatia, but an agreement on the border is still far away; the future of the Gorjanci is demilitarization, and Trdinov Vrh is an exceptional tourist spot; a suitable standard for determining the border is to be consideration of the land-registry borders.*

Ljubljana, 13 Mar—The border between Slovenia and Croatia has not yet been determined, and individual areas, because of the media war, have upset the public. One of the most sensitive issues is Trdinov Vrh, where Slovene territorial forces are on the border itself.

In the new school map issued by the Slovene Republic's Geodetic Institute, Trdinov Vrh is shown in Croatia, and the sea border has not been drawn in. What is actually going on with that unfortunate Trdinov Vrh?

We Slovenes are advocating that the border problem be settled as a package, and the land-registry borders are usually mentioned as a standard for determining the border. Its course is unfavorable for Slovenia at Trdinov Vrh. Croatia, however, does not agree with it in the Piran Bay.

According to the land-registry borders, the military building on Trdinov Vrh is actually on the Croatian side; the future of the Gorjanci and their highest peak is complete demilitarization, which should be supported by both states! [passage omitted]

Peterle in Vienna for Talks on Minorities, Economy

93BA0783A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by Vojko Flegar: "Gradual Resolution of Minority Issues"]

[Text] *Lojze Peterle met with Alois Mock in Vienna; primarily about the Slovene minority and the economy.*

From our correspondent.

Vienna, 12 Mar—Several specific desires and demands by the Slovene ethnic community in Austrian Carinthia, and relations, especially economic relations, between Slovenia and Austria were the main topics of today's talks between a Slovene and an Austrian delegation, and between Foreign Ministers Lojze Peterle and Alois Mock in Vienna.

With respect to so-called minority issues (Peterle and State Secretary Peter Vencelj prepared a list, as customary, in cooperation with both minority organizations), these involve primarily bilingual kindergartens, and for a long time now the Slovene ethnic community has also been striving for expansion of the Slovene-language programs on Austrian radio and television, and for being able to receive Slovene television programs on the Austrian side of the Karawanken as well. As Peterle and Mock said at the press conference, these are issues that can be gradually resolved through mutual willingness for a dialogue, with respect to which Mock emphasized that on the Austrian side this was primarily a matter for the province of Carinthia, and for the Carinthians themselves, both German- and Slovene-speaking. In general, as the Slovene foreign minister said, there are no problems between Austria and Slovenia that could not be resolved, and the Austrian foreign minister also expressed a positive opinion of the functioning of the border crossing at the Karawanken pass. Peterle also mentioned the initiation of the procedure for preparing several economic agreements, including one on insuring Austrian investments in Slovenia.

[Box, p 1]

In an interview for the Austrian press agency which was summarized by today's semiofficial daily WIENER ZEITUNG, Peterle's foreign policy adviser Karel Smolle said, among other things, that Slovenia wants a stronger constitutional and legal status for the Slovene ethnic community in Austria; this also means broad autonomy.

Leftist Parties Continue Efforts To Unify

93BA0783C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 13 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by (me): "To Merge, or Not To Merge—the Dilemma of the Center..."]

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Mar—Last month the Social Democrats sent a merger offer to four parties (the United List, the Democratic Party, the Greens, and the Socialists). After the United List had already responded to the offer, the Democrats also sent a letter to the leadership and members of the SDSS [Social Democratic Party of Slovenia] yesterday.

In the letter, they opine that the SDSS's initiative is "an important contribution to the development of Slovene political and party life." As they emphasized at yesterday's press conference, "the merger euphoria mentioned several times in recent days" is premature, but of course, their door is always wide upon for talks on all sorts of issues. In the Social Democrats' program and positions, there are enough significant starting points for cooperation, which, however, is seriously hindered by the parties' different position, since the SDSS is a government party, and the Democrats are in the opposition.

And what does the president of the Social Democratic Party, Dr. Joze Pucnik, think about the Democrats' answer? As he told us immediately after he read the letter, there are many encouraging points in it for future cooperation, and consequently, the Social Democrats expect that they soon will agree with the Democrats on a date when the leaderships of both parties are to meet.

So far, however, the Greens have not responded to the SDSS's initiative. As Joze Pucnik said, this is also understandable in view of that party's internal difficulties, but the initial responses to the Social Democrats' initiative have nevertheless been positive.

The SSS [Socialist Party of Slovenia] republic committee will decide today on what the Socialists' future fate will be. They have several possibilities to choose from. They can thus decide that the party will continue to be independent (for which there have been more and more demands "from the field," especially after the complications with the interventionary law on restricting wages), and the other two—only unlikely possibilities, however—are an alliance with the LDS [Liberal Democratic Party] or an alliance with the United List. Obviously, the most likely course is still the one that the party's presidency has also preferred—an alliance with the Social Democrats.

Federal

Cosic Meets With Greek Premier Mitsotakis

AU0604175493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Report by Slobodan Jankovic on statements by FRY President Dobrica Cosic and Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to the press in Belgrade on 6 April; Mitsotakis speaks in Greek with superimposed summary in Serbo-Croatian—recorded]

[Text] Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis arrived in Belgrade this morning. He met immediately with Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Slobodan Jankovic reports:

[Jankovic] After their talks the two statesmen made brief statements. Let us first hear the host, President Cosic:

[Cosic] Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis is always a dear and honored guest. He represents the nation that has traditionally been, as it is today in the most difficult times, loyal in its understanding of the suffering of the Serbian and Yugoslav peoples. Mr. Mitsotakis represents a country and a government that are investing enormous effort in the search for peaceful solutions to the Bosnian crisis, the cessation of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the consolidation of the Yugoslav and Balkan regions.

Today we discussed the ways of solving the Bosnian crisis in this critical time, with enormous mutual understanding and unanimity. I can conclude with satisfaction that we agree on all important issues and that we agree on the methods and means of resolving the Bosnian crisis. I believe that Mr. Mitsotakis will use all his influence, experience, and wisdom in the search for the best solutions for ending this tremendous tragedy. [end recording]

The journalists, including 30 Greek reporters, were then addressed by Mitsotakis:

[Mitsotakis] I came as an old and good friend of this country at a very difficult moment to help in the search for a just solution to the Bosnian crisis. There is no doubt that the Bosnian crisis is in a very difficult and critical moment. There is hope that a solution could be found, as well as chances for things to take a turn for the worse and the war to intensify. I exchanged views with President Cosic, whom I met recently in Athens, in a friendly and frank way. I will continue these talks immediately with Mr. Milosevic and Mr. Karadzic. My goal is to help find a solution. I think that the next few days, while the cease-fire is holding, should be used to find a solution. As a neighboring and friendly country, Greece is very interested in finding a just and lasting solution to the crisis.

[Jankovic] The meeting between Cosic and Mitsotakis had two parts. They first met in the presence of only their closest aides. This was followed by a plenary meeting. Cosic's advisers briefed journalists on the content of the talks. The Yugoslav side stressed that the international community is making a mistake by using ultimatums. This will prolong the war. In addition, the world did not react to the proposals put forward by the Bosnian Serbs, while [words indistinct] a document in New York suggesting that the entire process be started over.

Speaking of the sanctions, Cosic said they are counterproductive because they strengthen the extremist forces. This is a historic moment, a critical moment. Making a mistake today means making a big mistake that would have consequences for a long time, Cosic said.

Mitsotakis said that the cease-fire was encouraging. Greece understands the Yugoslav problem better than other European countries. It is its duty to influence the EC. It also has the courage to state what it believes in, although it is obliged to follow the policy of the community.

In this meeting Cosic stressed that we are ready to compromise, but also appealed that we be met halfway. We must share responsibility for the future of the Balkans, Cosic said in conclusion.

Current Trend Points to 84 Million Percent Inflation

AU0704100293 Paris AFP in English 0213 GMT 7 April 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, April 7 (AFP)—The economy of Yugoslavia is "close to total collapse" after 10 months of U.N.-backed international sanctions mainly directed at Serbia, the Chamber of Commerce warned here Tuesday [6 April] [passage omitted].

Fewer than 10 percent of business enterprises are operating normally nowadays due to shortages of spare parts, raw materials and petroleum products, according to a marketing institute in the capital. [passage omitted]

Out of a workforce of 2.4 million, nearly one million have been laid off and another 760,000 are out of work. [passage omitted]

Consumer purchasing power went down by 50.6 percent in 1992 compared to the previous year and is still being eroded. With an average wage of roughly 30 dollars a month, more than four million Yugoslavs are now living in poverty.

Yugoslavia ended 1992 with an inflation rate of 19,810 percent. The rate is currently put at 4.3 percent a day and reached 225.8 percent for the single month of March. It was 100.6 percent in January and 211.8 percent in February.

If the trend continues, Yugoslavia will finish the year with an astronomical inflation of 84 million percent, according to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA.

A retirement pension today will buy a box of chocolates. An average wage buys 40 kilograms (90 lbs) of potatoes. Prices change daily rising by between 100 and 1,000 percent in 24 hours. [passage omitted]

Sugar, cooking oil, soap powders and medicines vanished from shop shelves months ago and bread has been in short supply recently in several provincial areas. A family of four can live off one wage for barely 10 days.

One of the most serious problems is the shortage of fuel. Domestic oil output covers barely one quarter of the country's needs.

It is virtually impossible to buy petrol (gasoline) either in Belgrade or elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Hundreds of trains, buses and motor coaches have stopped running for lack of fuel and traffic gets thinner each day in the capital.

It is hard to see how the economy will hold out if the international community carries out a threat to toughen sanctions further by suspending communications with Yugoslavia, halting all road traffic through the country and freezing Yugoslav assets abroad.

National Bank Issues New Dinar Bill

LD0704095993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0931 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 7 (TANJUG)—The National Bank of Yugoslavia on Wednesday [7 April] issued a new, 100,000-dinar bill (equivalent to 3.5 deutsche marks [DM] at the black-market rate or 214 DM at the official rate), because the smaller bills which have been in circulation so far have lost their value due to hyperinflation.

The so far largest, 50,000-dinar bill was worth 16 deutsche marks at the black-market rate when issued on January 20 this year but is worth a mere 1.6 marks now.

However, the main reason for the introduction of the 100,000- dinar bill has been a shortage in the paper for printing money and a mounting demand for cash, effected by hyperinflation, central bank representatives have said.

The inflation rate for the month of March stood at 227 percent in Yugoslavia.

Economy Said Close To Collapse

LD0604132293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1311 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav economy is close to a total collapse, cautioned the Executive Committee of the Chamber of the Economy of Yugoslavia on Tuesday [6 April].

Businessmen gave data on developments at the start of the year which point to an accelerated growth of negative trends. Industrial production dropped by 36.6 percent in January, and 41.1 percent in February.

After ten months under an international embargo, the Yugoslav economy has lost its buyers, suppliers and foreign markets. The drop in production is logical since factories do not have raw materials, fuel and gas, said businessmen.

Economic activities will be supported with funds from the primary issue in the second quarter. Special care will be taken to help those producers who are linked to other branches, as learned.

Federal Official Criticizes EC Blockade of Danube

LD0604171093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—The total blockade of the Danube-imposed on FRY ships and foreign convoys heading for its ports is not based on any regulations or conventions, TANJUG was told today by Radmilo Bogdanovic, vice president of the Chamber of Republics of the federal parliament.

No one has the right, not even the WEU [West European Union], to police the borders of countries along the Danube, in this case between the FRY, Romania, and Bulgaria. The EC may be dissatisfied with the decisions of the Assembly of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the maps in the Vance-Owen peace plan but no one authorizes them to police state borders on a great European river, where ships of every flag can freely sail, and to stop navigation, Bogdanovic says.

Neither in World War II nor in World War I did this take place, Bogdanovic added. In Bogdanovic's words, the EC is not "authorized" to turn Serbia and Montenegro into some kind of reserve and to besiege us in its own way by paralyzing traffic along a European river. The federal minister for transport, Blagoje Lucic, told TANJUG that at the moment this ministry was analyzing the conclusions reached by WEU.

In the words of the chairman of the deputies' club of the Serbian Radical Party at the federal assembly, Vojislav Seselj, Yugoslavia should react sharply to the EC's decisions to blockade ships flying our flag on the Danube. Seselj maintains that our country must retaliate by taking the same measures, something that means the Danube must be blockaded and that EC ships should be prevented from sailing through our country.

He maintains Romania and Bulgaria should be cautioned that hindering Yugoslav ships could damage our interstate relations.

Kontic Complains to UN over Resolution 815

LD0604175993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 April (TANJUG)—Dr Radoje Kontic, Yugoslav prime minister and chairman of the Committee for Cooperation with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], sent a letter today to UN Secretary

General Butrus-Ghali and UN Security Council Chairman Jamsheed Marker informing them that the application of certain provisions of the Security Council resolution 815 would seriously threaten the implementation of the UN peace plan.

The letter stresses that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as one of the signatories to the Vance plan, holds that a provision of resolution 815 setting out that UN-protected territories constitute integral parts of the territory of the Republic of Croatia is completely at odds with the essence of the Vance plan.

Dr Kontic recalls that Security Council resolution 743, which established the UNPROFOR, expressly says that these forces are "a temporary arrangement aimed at creating conditions for peace and security, which is necessary for negotiations regarding the overall solution of the Yugoslav crisis," and that the plan and its implementation "are not directed in any way at prejudging a political solution."

It is well known that one of the conditions for the acceptance of the peace plan by top government bodies of Yugoslavia and Krajina is that the solution of the status of the Serb regions should not be prejudged.

Such prejudgment of the outcome of the current political processes and the failure to observe Security Council resolution 802 do not help to eliminate the danger of further escalation of war conflicts, but, on the contrary, encourage Croatia to use force in imposing its authorities on the UN-protected territories. Provisions of the resolution can also call into question the trust that the people and the authorities of the Republic of Serb Krajina have in the United Nations and UNPROFOR and also in the fruitful cooperation with the peace-keeping forces. All this could also destroy the considerable positive effects of the peace operation, Prime Minister Dr Kontic's letter says in conclusion.

Article Says Cosic, Milosevic, Karadzic Acting Together

AU0604154693 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by Gordana Susa: "Cosic's, Milosevic's and Karadzic's Appearances Are Coordinated"]

[Text] The expression "national consensus" came from [president Dobrica] Cosic's office without any explanation, and it passed almost unnoticed. It was not clear at the beginning what was to be understood by it, but, judging by the statements of some Serbian politicians, there are no dilemmas any more. When Karadzic rejected the signing of the Vance-Owen plan in New York, the Democratic Party was the first one to welcome this decision. Other parties and organizations followed. Mr. Karadzic—surrounded by support—responded to the tightening of the sanctions and to the threats of military intervention by saying that "all 12 million Serbs would fight under the Serbian flag against the world." Everything is clear now. What is more, it is expected that President Cosic will address the European Parliament on the necessity to reintegrate the geographical and geopolitical area of southeastern Europe. This means that the world will have to accept reality, as is often stressed by Cosic, and admit that it has made a wrong "diagnosis" of the causes of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has led to a false "treatment" of this problem. According to Cosic, but not only him any longer, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is civil, religious and ethnic; a war for territory.

Although the Geneva sessions gave the impression that Cosic was the most flexible, Milosevic the most influential, and Karadzic the most stubborn negotiator, and although it seemed that Cosic and Milosevic were supposed to persuade Karadzic to make certain compromises, it was already clear then, according to well informed circles, that the three of them were acting in agreement. The political image created by this good diplomatic game was used to play for time and thus secure a better negotiating position.

The term "national consensus" also clearly defines the national interest in the negotiations with the world. It can be concluded from the coordinated appearance of these three negotiators that three points are important here: the right of a people to self-determination, the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic units, and the creation of a state which would end at the ethnic Serbian borders. The organization of this state will be discussed in later negotiations—whether it will be a Yugoslav federation, an alliance of Serbian states, or a Balkan confederation.... There are differences in the achievement of these aims because they can be achieved gradually through negotiations, or through war.

This is causing rivalry in the struggle for prestige. The attempt to dismiss Cosic in the federal parliament, and the return of the Democratic Movement of Serbia to defend him, only confirms that the "national consensus" achieved in the appearance toward to world has not been achieved at home yet. But, since the world also influences things "at home," it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between these two things, and in this sense the "national consensus" is of significance to sharing of responsibility. In other words, it is not only Karadzic to blame for possible mistakes in the negotiations or for a failure of the dialogue with the world, because the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia "are not waging war against each other" but are allies in this political agreement.

Role of 'Armed Gangs' in Bosnia, Croatia

93BA0793A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 93 pp 28-31

[Article by Filip Svarm: "War Crime: Fighting to the Last Booty"

[Text] *How gangs of bandits, disguised by the prevailing national ideology, are directing the two-year war.*

While the media are full of reports of "advances by our side" and "treachery and crimes" by others, information is coming in—informally, unofficially, and under one's breath—about people growing rich from the suffering of the population and about manipulation of other people's torment (Dzoni Stulic observed long ago that "there is not a small amount of screwing going on"). The deputy chief of staff of the armed forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jovo Divjak, admitted to the German newspaper DIE ZEIT that one of the biggest problems of besieged Sarajevo is the armed gangs inside and outside the city, adding that it was "thanks to these criminal groups that Sarajevo was even defended during the first weeks." But the situation is similar at the other theaters of operation as well. Numerous observers have not once asked to what extent the leaders of the belligerent nations actually control their own armed people and to what extent they can influence the implementation of signed agreements. The fact that this question is not simply rhetorical is confirmed by the latest political showdowns in Krajina and by the fact that the legitimacy of the government in Sarajevo is denied by its Croat members. Negotiations are going on, but it is less and less clear whom the negotiators actually represent. Have those who have become their "war brothers" already become so independent and powerful that they are not allowing the war to end?

Beginning

The prelude to the war in Croatia took place institutionally and extrainstitutionally. While Serbs from Knin Krajina were on duty at the barricades, they were armed through various channels from the arsenals of the Serbian and Vojvodina police, and the then-existent JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] was not stingy in providing various services either. In addition to them, Serb towns were patrolled by various people, usually portraying themselves as SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] activists and collecting money to buy weapons "because of the situation"—many cows and sheep at the time were exchanged for "Kalashnikovs" and "Thompsons," with full combat gear. At the same time, the Croat authorities were not lagging behind. Arms arrived on the now-legendary convoys, primarily from Eastern European black markets, and were distributed to deserving and experienced veterans of the ruling party. Even then, many enthusiasts of the "national cause" were well equipped financially and realized that money means power.... The first armed clashes took place, and the scope of earnings made possible by war expanded drastically. In the newly emerged situation, the population consented to a standard of living that declined on a daily basis. Shortages of basic necessities became commonplace, people left their homes and moved to the uncertainty of refugee camps, and the last marks put away for a rainy day were spent, because now everything had a price, even mere survival. Even in places where there was no fighting going on, moreover everything was done to provoke it. Several armed men would attack a police patrol, checkpoints would be cut off, and so on, and then the frightened population would be easily convinced that they had no choice other than weapons, of which, coincidentally, they had more than they needed.... Cities and towns began to be occupied and systematically looted. These "liberators" who came to one of these cities first were nicknamed "gold and cash"; the next ones were "household and other appliances," and after then came the "vultures" who removed parquet floors, windows, toilet bowls, electrical switches, and basically anything that they could take with them....

War Communism

Since in the early course of the war the Serb side could boast of a much larger number of "liberations," it is utterly irrefutable that there were also more spoils of war in their ranks. But the Croat armed forces did not lag behind when they had the opportunity. When the front stabilized and the video recorders, freezers, and other useful items belonging to "the other nationality" ran out, they turned to the property of their own people according to the criteria of suitability to "our cause"; and when that stock of goods was depleted, looting without any justification whatsoever began. All the authorities, especially the ones in Krajina, contended that the looting was being done by armed groups and individuals not under their control, while at the same time doing nothing to stop them. The best response to the question of why no effort was made to put an end to these gangs, mostly organized in paramilitary and volunteer formations, came from a former JNA general: "Because they are the only ones willing to attack!"

To a certain extent, the Sarajevo cease-fire cooled off the red-hot gun barrels in Croatia. The number-one problem in Krajina became mere survival: Everything that had been working or had been able to do so was at a standstill. In the utter impoverishment that prevailed, those who had managed in the previous year to effect the necessary accumulation of capital through various transactions bailed out. Now, as if it is the most normal thing in the world, they have begun to transfer the capital into legitimate businesses (currency exchange bureaus and similar lucrative activities), or they have reoriented themselves toward supplying Krajina with various products in short supply; in most cases, they are involved in both activities. If this is not being done by some of the local self-proclaimed authorities like Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, the advisor to President Hadzic, then they are not far removed from it—indeed, it is only thanks to their money that this government can function. Although campaigns against wartime profiteers are being waged incessantly, although some "small fry" are even arrested from time to time, there is in fact little that can be done: In order for those currently in power to become what they are, they needed a war, and once the war came they needed those whom the public calls wartime profiteers. The overriding national interests as seen by the current Serbian regime, which were the reason for all this, are not that essential in the prevailing relations between "all Serbian lands." This is also confirmed by the recent

meeting of representatives of Kordun and Banija Opstinas with the president of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, and Prime Minister Nikola Sainevic, where they complained about the corruption and crime in the top ranks of the Krajinan government and asked Belgrade to put an end to the lawlessness if Knin was unwilling to do so. The seriousness of the situation was also acknowledged by the Association of Serbs from Croatia and the RSK [Republic of Serbian Krajina]. At a meeting with Radmilo Bogdanovic, the chairman of the republican commission for relations with Serbs outside Serbia, an avalanche of charges against Hadzic's team was unleashed. Rade Tanjga, the chief of the Military Staff of the RSK, said that "the majority of the issues come from the incompetence of the authorities in the RSK and that people have come to the surface who do not know the technology of governing."

Clearly it is difficult to govern people and send people to the front whose existence has dropped below all minimum standards at the end of the 20th century. Under such conditions, the only way to stay in power is through war communism: There is neither personal nor property security, administrative decisions are made about all segments of life, and all differing opinions are stifled. Still, every system, including this one, has its price. Hadzic is paying his bill by laying waste to the forests, destroying the pool of livestock, printing money with no backing—thus, with the crumbs tossed to him by those who are getting fat sums of money from all this, because it is utterly impossible to imagine any other way for the Krajinan state to function. Now that all indications are that Hadzic's political fall is next, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, a newspaper that is otherwise close to the regime, is reporting on a sales contract dated 1 March 1993, which shows that the leaders of Krajina are selling off timber and roundwood for a pittance, which are among the basic natural resources there. Now everyone is bewildered at this, as if countless similar barter deals with the FRY have not been announced. The nature of things is such that every miller has flour, including Hadzic and his functionaries, but since the president resides in his state only as an exception, he does not have the opportunity to encounter the rage of the mass known as the "Serb nation," unlike the concrete opstina presidents in Kordun and Banija. While he concerns himself with broad national interests and solves problems with general phrases, the latter are forced to concretely answer for the meaning of the current anarchy or—which is an even more sorrowful task for them—respond to the question "what did we do wrong with the Croats?" None of this is easy, especially since the minority embedded in the power-wielding leadership has never been better off, while the great majority of others has never been worse off.

Ease

Many consider that despite everything, the war in Croatia was only a summer military maneuver compared to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The mix of the population, the clearly defined Serb and Croat wartime goals, the Muslims' feeling of frustration in the bloody nightmare of massacres, camps, ethnic cleansing, and the rest, resulted in more opportunities for quick and easy enrichment than the "war brothers" had ever dreamed of. If the shrewd opstina authorities in Sunja, one of the rare Croatian villages in Banija that survived, sold "Kalashnikovs" to both sides for 640 German marks [DM] at the beginning of the hostilities, in Prijedor high-ranking officials of the SDS organized the sale of that weapon to Muslims for DM2,000. After the war flared up, all the buyers were arrested on the basis of lists kept by the sellers. In addition, all the looting of Croatian enterprises, such as "Jamnicke Kiselice," was minor compared to the systematic cleansing of enterprises in Bosnia-Herzegovina liberated by soldiers of the Serbian Republic.

The aforementioned Jovo Divjak said that only criminal elements in Sarajevo possessed weapons, and that they were also the first ones to use them. The continuation of the war showed that they too were engaged in politics, but without forgetting their own pockets. It is certainly no secret that inhabitants of Sarajevo got out of the blockade through Kiseljak. The only condition was the payment of hard currency, the amount of which depended on the assessed ability of the client to pay. In the case of Muslims, they also had to buy false (Croat) personal documents so that HVO [Croatian Defense Council] troops would later let them pass on their way to refugee camps. These earnings were divided into a third for the Muslim police in Sarajevo, a third for the Serbs who let them through the encirclement, and a third for the Croats who organized the reception in Kiseljak. Once we are in Kiseljak, many people (like a French journalist living in that city) express the opinion that now, thanks to the war, life there is much better than ever before, since the possibilities for earnings based on smuggling food and people are actually unlimited. In addition, there are many who say that the Sarajevo blockade is not being lifted for political reasons, and thus because of the interests of the "warlords." Regardless of what side they belong to, they have established mutual connections and are jealously preserving them.

It is said that the Ceneksa glass building (the only place where there was satellite telephone, electricity, water, and food) was undamaged until late in the fall of 1992 because its owners regularly paid the "racket" of the gunners in Pale. Allegedly, it suffered damage when competitors from Sarajevo paid for that to happen. There are numerous examples of trade in everything conceivable, but most of all in human lives. The price of release from the Omarska camp was DM10,000. It is said that only one man paid that price: a Muslim, the owner of a well-established private company. When convoys for deporting the minority population from various cities have been organized, primarily those in which the Serbs are in the majority, but also in other Croat and Muslim cities, the refugees have been forced not only to give up all their property, but also to pay

DM50 to DM100 for a seat on the bus. There are also examples of additional money being demanded following all these payments: Some witnesses allege that a certain Ms. Perka took an additional DM80 from Croats and Muslims leaving Banja Luka after they had paid the local authorities for the entire procedure. If they did not have it, they did not leave the city. As far as earnings from classic examples of ethnic cleansing are concerning, that does not even merit comment. The same is true of the looting of humanitarian aid—at one point, a man was arrested at the Zeleni Venac in Belgrade selling packages of that aid.

Complaints

To what extent are gangs of bandits, disguised by the prevailing national ideology, directing the two-year war? Muslim authorities from Sarajevo, who claim to represent all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, lose more and more of their legitimacy every day. The final blow was dealt to them by the vice prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mile Akmadzic, when he announced to the international community that the Croat ministers do not agree with the policy of President Alija Izetbegovic and his Minister of Foreign Affairs Haris Silajdzic. The Croatian Defense Council had previously cut off all cooperation with the armed forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina and closed off passages through the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia, through which it had been supplied. As far as the Serb authorities are concerned, they are doing whatever works amid the economic blockade against the FRY—what is essential is money, not the way in which it is obtained. It is significant that their leaders are mentioned by the international public as war criminals, and that because of the position in which they find themselves they have nothing to lose. Finally, the Croat side has the opportunity to collect from both the Serbs and the Muslims. There are too many people profiting from the war and its consequences. The organized gangs on all three sides will not want to see an end to the bloodshed until they have squeezed everything that they can out of it. The best example is Trebinje, when paramilitary formations, with the assistance of authorities there, expelled the local Muslims, who were in fact fighting in the ranks of the Serbs, simply in order to plunder their property. The dubious legitimacy of all the belligerent sides outside the mother states permits events similar to those in Somalia, where war is waged for a liter of petroleum and a kilogram of flour. In the meantime, the profiteers, with their bags full of money, have long since departed.

Citizenship Criteria as Method of Ethnic Cleansing

93BA0793D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 93 pp 32-35

[Article by Svetlana Vasovic-Mekina: "Slovenia and Croatia: How To Become a Citizen: State as Prison"]

[Text] *Ordinances justified by ambiguous and ill-defined notions are the best proof that state terrorists exist. In the past, many states have used ambiguous legal definitions primarily in the field of criminal law, but the disintegration of Yugoslavia apparently provided an excellent opportunity for use of this method to further the ethnic cleansing of the new national states.*

The result of the disintegration of Yugoslavia is not only wars, refugees, and new states, but also thousands of "new" foreigners, people with "dual" citizenship, and stateless individuals. This is because the new states in the Yugoslav region are arbitrarily determining the criteria for citizenship, without coordinating their efforts and holding to European standards, and even with a clearly expressed desire to "cleanse" the state of ethnically unfit citizens. Thus, the new states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia have for the most part already enacted their own laws on citizenship, laws that have suddenly identified many former citizens of the SFRY as "foreigners" in areas where they have lived for decades, often leaving them without any citizenship.

Complete Ethnic Cleansing

Since every state reserves the right to control the arrival and flow of foreigners in its own territory, for many people this means in practice that because of their ethnic origin, with foreigner-parasite status, they will also lose the right to stay in the new states and be forced to emigrate. And in this way, far from the media attention directed at wartime horrors at the front, with the help of quiet but efficient bureaucratic procedures prescribed and rubber-stamped by the newly enthroned state authorities, efficient ethnic cleansing of young national states is happening every day in nearly all the regions of the former Yugoslavia.

Naturally, there are enormous differences between the various states that have emerged in the Yugoslav region with regard to the granting of citizenship. Slovenia is perhaps living proof that this issue can be resolved in a relatively humane and tolerant manner, even within the framework of a unilateral, nonnegotiated determination of citizenship. Based on the Declaration of Good Intentions, which was adopted by the Slovene Assembly prior to the declaration of independence, Article 40 was inserted into the Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia (adopted on 25 June 1991), which stipulates that citizens of other republics who had a permanent residence in Slovenia on the day of the plebiscite on independence, and actually lived there, unconditionally acquire citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia. Moreover, all such citizens retain, as the commentary on that law states, "all acquired rights, and until the conclusion of any agreement to the contrary with other republics, they shall also retain their previous republican citizenship." Based on the described letter of the law, 160,560 citizens originally from other Yugoslav republics have acquired Slovene citizenship. In other words, around 75 percent of the citizens from other Yugoslav republics who were permanently registered in Slovenia have acquired Slovene citizenship. At the same time, around 50,000 of the 1,962,606 inhabitants of Slovenia who did not apply for Slovene citizenship or who did not acquire it have

consented to the role of "foreigner"; in addition, Slovenia has taken in around 25,000 new citizens from exile.

In short, there are fewer citizens in Slovenia today than were recorded in the last census—approximately 1,947,452. These figures indicate that there has been a sort of "ethnic cleansing" and change in the structure of the population, despite the liberal Slovene law on citizenship. Quite simply, all those who did not provide for a permanent domicile in Slovenia in time, or did not even think about Slovene citizenship, have found themselves in the role of "foreigner" due to a twist of circumstances. The fact that political conditions had an effect on citizenship applications is indicated by the fact that 70 percent of all applications were submitted in the last month before the deadline, when the disintegration of Yugoslavia had already become a fact.

As far as the details associated with the Slovene citizenship project are concerned, they were made public by the head of the department for administrative law affairs of the Slovene [MUP] Ministry of Internal Affairs, Slavko Debelak. As of 20 May 1992, the Slovene MUP had issued 595 negative decisions, in addition to the numerous positive ones. Eighty-eight applicants died during the procedure, 38 applications were withdrawn, in 176 cases it was decided to reject the application, and in four cases the procedure was temporarily interrupted.... The latest data show that thus far approximately 178,000 citizens of other republics of the SFRY have acquired Slovene citizenship based solely on Article 40 of the law. In order to determine citizenship, the Slovene MUP has hired 103 employees who work an average of 17 hours a day; they have expended an additional 57,709 man-hours and consumed approximately 2,700 kg of paper, and the entire project has cost around one million German marks.

Today, it is possible to acquire Slovene citizenship (Article 40 has in the meantime expired) based on certain other articles of that same law. Besides the provision on how immigrants and their descendants can acquire citizenship, the most important articles for citizens of the former SFRY who would like Slovene citizenship are Articles 10 and 12 of the Slovene Law on Citizenship. The former regulates regular naturalization: According to that article, Slovene citizenship can be acquired by an applicant (if he is 18 or older) if he attaches a renunciation of his existing citizenship, if he has actually lived in Slovenia for 10 years (including the last five years without interruption), if he has a secure residence, social security, and the means to subsist, if he "commands the Slovene language to such an extent that he can communicate with his milieu," if he has not been sentenced to imprisonment for longer than one year, and if he does not constitute a threat "to order, security, and the defense of the state." It is easier to acquire citizenship under Article 12: If you are married to a Slovene citizen, then you need a year of residence, enough means to live on, secure housing, and knowledge of the Slovene language. In that case, the applicant is not required to renounce his existing citizenship, so that such a citizen actually becomes a "dual national." Knowledge of the language is assessed by a commission which demands of future citizens only spoken knowledge and very basic comprehension of the Slovene language. In practice, the commission with three members (the prime minister, minister of education, and minister of internal affairs) converses with the applicant for several minutes. Thus far, there have only been a few negative decisions, and everyone has the right to try again—to prove once again his knowledge of the language.

Get Out

In Croatia, however, the situation with citizenship is diametrically different. Thus far, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, headed by Minister Jarnjak and Stjepo Ivanda, who is in charge of issuing "certificates of domicile," has not provided any detailed figures on how many citizens from other republics of the former SFRY have actually received "certificates of domicile" and Croatian citizenship based on the Law on Croatian Citizenship, adopted on 8 October 1991. On the other hand, the official figure of approximately 7,500 rejected applications is high, and after the latest wave of negative decisions, estimates of approximately 10,000 to 15,000 rejected citizenship applications are certainly closest to the truth. Accordingly, the Croatian citizenship law is much more disadvantageous to citizens of other republics of the former SFRY than is, say, the Slovene one. The Croatian law (unlike the Slovene one) does not even mention the former SFRY, nor does it allow for any concessions (or privileges), based on the coexistence of nations and a unified state territory, in the acquisition of Croatian citizenship for citizens from other republics, which means that everyone, regardless of how long they have been living in Croatia, must properly submit an application for citizenship in accordance with the articles that regulate "regular" or "exceptional" naturalization. To put it simply, if the Slovene law demands of all citizens of other republics of the SFRY only a permanent residence in Slovenia up to a specific date and promises them citizenship in advance, the Croatian law declares in advance that all inhabitants of Croatia without authentic Croatian citizenship are foreigners and allows them to acquire citizenship only in accordance with procedural provisions, which are strict in any state. This means that in accordance with Article 8 of the law ("regular naturalization"), any applicant for Croatian citizenship must be at least 18 years old, receive renunciation of his current citizenship, have at least five years of continuously recorded residence in Croatia, know the "Croatian language and Latin alphabet," and behave in such a way that on the basis of his "behavior it is possible to conclude that he respects the legal order and customs in the Republic of Croatia and that he accepts Croatian culture."

If the applicant is fortunate enough to be married to a Croatian citizen, was born in the territory of Croatia, or is an emigrant, the process is shortened significantly, while the procedure is not shortened at all for citizens of some other Yugoslav republic who do not share this good fortune, even if they have lived in Croatia for 10 or 20 years, or even their entire life. Moreover, broad provisions of the law that can always be adapted to bureaucratic capriciousness and the discretionary right of state institutions seriously limit the practical possibility of acquiring Croatian citizenship. Ordinances justified by ambiguous and ill-defined notions are the best proof that state terrorists exist. In the past, many states have used ambiguous legal definitions primarily in the field of criminal law, but the disintegration of Yugoslavia apparently provided an excellent opportunity for use of this method to further the ethnic cleansing of the new national states. Indeed, what exactly are "customs in Croatia"? Do they include religious customs? How is it actually possible to prove "acceptance of Croatian culture"? Is a sentence that is improperly spoken in the ekavian variant of Serbo-Croatian [used primarily in Serbia proper] during an "interview" at a police station enough of an indication to justify rejecting a citizenship application? Because of unclear answers to all these questions, approximately 200,000 permanent residents of Croatia with "ethnically improper" roots are faced with the impossibility of gaining Croatian citizenship, the impossibility of getting work, the loss of social rights, and the increasingly real impossibility of traveling abroad....

Because of this law and practice, lawyers' offices in Croatia are inundated with requests for legal assistance in connection with citizenship problems. For example, the office of Silvije Degen alone is attempting to lend assistance to approximately 50 clients on the average. Nevertheless, the chances of those who are "ethnically unfit" acquiring Croatian citizenship remain poor, despite the efforts of lawyers, so that it is likely, they say frankly in that office, that citizenship will be lost by "all former military personnel, members of their families, and various immigrants who came to Croatia over the past 10 years, do not have their own housing here or are subtenants, or do not have significant property. They probably will not gain citizenship because they would not go back...." Or others. Thus, for many of them emigration is actually the only alternative left to them.

The differences between the Slovene and Croatian laws on citizenship proves that here too it was possible for the states of the European Community to proceed differently and assess more realistically the important factor of the "authentic connection" between these residents of Croatia and the state that is depriving them of citizenship in such a ruthless manner. It is not at all the same thing for a citizen of Sweden or Canada to apply for Croatian citizenship and for someone to do so who has spend his entire life in that republic, worked there, built things, or started a family. The problematic nature of the Croatian law was pointed out by Tadeusz Mazowiecki after his visit to some of the republics of the former Yugoslavia when he said that only "Slovenia of all the former Yugoslav states is functioning as a normal civic state," underscoring the danger of conflict in Kosovo and criticizing Croatia for "discrimination against Serbs, especially in its ordinances on citizenship, through which two categories of citizens are produced...."

The fact that bad ordinances on citizenship can have direct consequences for the state is not indicated only by the suspension of Croatia from certain international organizations and programs. Even officials of the World Bank in Slovenia, according to Slavko Debelak, sought precise information on the law on citizenship, finally declaring that precisely that law was to them a very important indicator of democracy and the legal stability of any state.

Stateless

But because of the lack of coordination between various legal provisions, even very tolerant laws can cause another open problem in the former Yugoslavia—certain residents of the former SFRY becoming "stateless," and thus people without citizenship. There are many examples in history where such cases of "statelessness" have appeared even under completely normal, nonwartime circumstances. For example, if a Dutch woman marries a foreigner, she automatically loses Dutch citizenship. Once a Dutch woman declared upon marrying a Frenchman that she did not accept French citizenship, and in this way she became stateless. Another better-known example is that of a man named O'Brian, who in 1953 was unable to boast of any citizenship, so that he was forced to travel by steamship between Honolulu and Macao for 320 days, because no state would allow him to disembark. Even after the Organization for Refugees stepped in to help, he had to "ride" two more times between Marseilles and Buenos Aires, after which the government of the Dominican Republic finally allowed him to settle there.

Stateless people from the territory of the former SFRY will come into being for much more bizarre reasons. Those simultaneously forgotten by all national laws on citizenship will become stateless through no fault of their own. Even now, by comparing the various laws, we would be able to predict these "cases": a child born in Croatia to a Muslim father from Bosnia-Herzegovina and a Serb mother could not acquire Croatian, Yugoslav, or Bosnian citizenship as a birthright. He is left the option of naturalization, but if he does not possess a record of residency in any of the new states for the legally prescribed period, then he will be left with no citizenship.... It is not hard to define a high-risk category of people who will be magnanimously rejected by all the states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. That would be those who were born in mixed marriages in the territory of some (present-day) third state of the former Yugoslavia, as well as those who have traveled a great deal and changed their place of permanent residence, or those who did not believe in the "sanctity of marriage" and did not wed or for some other,

totally different reasons were not particular important to whichever new state. With the collapse of Yugoslavia, all these people in fact lose their only homeland, so that they will definitely need the arbitration and help of international organizations.

Alien Strangers

The example of Slovenia shows that even well written laws on citizenship can cause major problems. Around 2,500 "ethnically pure" Slovenes (most of them pensioners), born in Slovenia of Slovene parents, have been left without Slovene citizenship. The reason for this is a series of six different laws from 1930 to 1976 that defined republican citizenship or "homeland affiliation" in the old Yugoslavia. Many of these pensioners forgot after 1945 to change their "homeland affiliation," which under the old Yugoslav laws was defined for them according to the opstina in which they lived permanently at the time of a census. For example, Slovene state officials who moved from Ljubljana to Belgrade automatically gained "Serbian" homeland affiliation. If they did not change this after the war, or if this remained unchanged in some other way, then they lost every homeland they had after Slovene independence. The majority of these pensioners must now, like any other "foreigner," apply for citizenship and, like any other person, prove their social status, level of income, housing security, and even knowledge of the Slovene language.... Moreover, in a few months (25 June 1993) all of them will become prisoners in their own state, so to speak. At the end of June, the red Yugoslav passports issued in Slovenia finally cease to be valid. The same thing will happen shortly (probably on 8 March) to residents of Croatia who have been left without a homeland, and thus without any of the other currently valid Croatian documents. In fact, their passports expired back in October of last year, only to be extended for six months through the good graces of the state. Those who have valid personal identification cards may be able to somehow "slip through" to Slovenia and back into Croatia, which will also be the final destination of all their journeys.

Clearly, the best way to resolve all the problems connected with the citizenship of citizens from the territory of the former Yugoslavia would be a negotiated agreement on the succession of the newly emerged states. The famous Slovene jurist Dr. Ljubo Bavcon believes that it "would be in accordance with general legal principles and the principle of respect for and protection of human rights if the status and fate of people were not decided unilaterally by the states that have emerged on the ruins of the former Yugoslavia. Aside from certain necessary measures for their own security, they should wait for final resolution of these questions based on some succession agreement." In this regard, a liberal solution is advocated by the delegations of Serbia and Montenegro at the negotiations on succession in Geneva; they propose that all citizens of the former SFRY be allowed to voluntarily declare themselves citizens of any of the newly emerged states in the territory of the SFRY.

There is no doubt that because of the war and the opposition of the Croatian as well as the Slovene delegations, the chances are very poor that this type of proposal will prevail and that the newly emerged states will themselves renounce their already acquired, sovereign rights and expose themselves to new migratory pressures. But it is precisely because of certain plainly inhumane actions by the new states toward undesired citizens that the insistence on modern and tolerant standards for determining citizenship are completely justified. This brings with it the obligation that the new Yugoslav law on citizenship also allow and guarantee citizenship to residents of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia without discrimination and the accompanying expulsions of "ethnically unfit people" across the state borders, which are already manifesting themselves.

[Box, p 34]

Figures

Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia has been acquired under Article 40 of the Law on Citizenship of Slovenia by:

- 74,897 citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina (46 percent)
- 55,685 citizens of Croatia (35 percent)
- 20,863 citizens of Serbia (13 percent)
- 4,660 citizens of Macedonia (3 percent)
- 4,444 citizens of Montenegro (3 percent)

Approximately 30 percent of those who have applied were born in Slovenia, while 50 percent are citizens originally from other republics of the SFRY who have lived in Slovenia for longer than 10 years. Approximately 60 percent of them are unskilled workers, 30 percent of them skilled workers, and 10 percent of them have intermediate, higher, or advanced professional qualification.

Foreigners in Slovenia:

A total of 48,431 foreigners. Of that figure:

- 17,999 Yugoslavs
- 10,385 from Bosnia-Herzegovina
- 5,793 from Serbia
- 5,272 from Croatia
- 992 from Macedonia
- 692 from Montenegro
- 6,516 being processed
- 782 other foreigners

The highest growth in the number of new citizens according to Slovene opstina (opstina and percentage increase in number of citizens):

- Izola, 26
- Piran, 24
- Koper, 22
- Jesenice, 20

- Metlika, 16
- Ljubljana, 14
- Kocevje, 13

Serbia

Greek Prime Minister on One-Day Visit to Belgrade

Comments on Talks

AU0604145093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Text] After their two-hour talks, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis held a news conference that is still going on. Commenting on the talks, President Milosevic said the following:

[Begin Milosevic recording] We held a very open [otvoren] and substantive discussion concerning all current political issue that are important for our region, an open discussion as expected from the representatives of two peoples and two countries tied with long historical friendship.

We spoke about our bilateral relations and the development of our friendly cooperation. We also discussed the general problems concerning the current settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia, particularly our efforts to end the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible, which has (?remained) the major hotbed of conflicts area in Yugoslavia.

We virtually have identical or very similar views on almost all issues. There is no doubt that peace is the most important thing for the entire region and that we should invest maximum efforts in the interest of peace. The fact that the cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been holding for 10 days and that there is a clearly manifested intention by the Bosnian Serbs to maintain peace and continue talks between the three sides concerning the remaining issues on maps, something we discussed with Prime Minister Mitsotakis in particular, are of great importance for the current situation.

We strongly support the continuation of the peace process and the continuation of the negotiations between the three sides on the remaining contentious issues.

You know that we offered our hospitality to Generals Morillon and Wahlgren here in Belgrade some 10 days ago to find a formula that would be acceptable by all three sides, a formula that would lead to a cease-fire. We are very happy that this cease-fire has managed to hold and that it has been holding for 10 days. We are very satisfied that we could see that a firm decision was adopted at the session of the assembly of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] for the cease-fire to be respected until a lasting peace has been established. We are also satisfied that the Serbian side in Bosnia-Herzegovina wants the negotiations to be conducted on the principle of a tripartite consensus and equal protection of interests of all three sides.

All of us should support the continuation of these negotiations, and I hope that they will be successful. We hope that in the remaining part of the negotiations concerning the maps all three sides will come to a just solution, which means conditions for a lasting peace. All of us will support them fully in this endeavor.

We are convinced that Greece and its government headed by Prime Minister Mitsotakis will act in the same way in the interest of peace. [end recording]

Summing up the talks, Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis said the following:

[Begin Mitsotakis recording, in Greek with passage-by-passage Serbo-Croatian translation] I would like to express my satisfaction and to thank Mr. Milosevic for the pleasure for offering to meet me today. As in the past, we held a sincere and friendly exchange of views on issues of mutual interest. The traditional friendship between our countries and peoples is a fact.

Today, we discussed the burning issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I also agree that the cease-fire that has been agreed upon and that has been holding for 10 days represents at the same time a very important progress in this direction. We must use this opportunity to find a positive solution, a solution that will last. I carefully listened to Mr. Milosevic's views. I briefed him on our stands and stands of Europe regarding this issue. I wish to express the hope that the problem can be solved at this stage with goodwill from all sides.

I can conclude with pleasure that Serbia is making sincere efforts. Finally, I would like to say that I hope that things will be resolved favorably. Greece, as a country that belongs to this region, and primarily as a friendly country, will do everything possible for the best solutions to be found. This is the goal of my visit today. This is also a permanent goal of the Greek policy. This means close cooperation with friendly Serbia and cooperation with the EC, to which we belong. [end recording]

Press Conference Continues

AU0604155093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Report by Jelena Vidic]

[Text] Prime Minister Mitsotakis and President Milosevic answered questions from a large group of domestic and foreign reporters. Several questions posed to Prime Minister Mitsotakis referred to his contacts with Moscow, Brussels, and Washington prior to his arrival in Belgrade and the indications that at his meeting in Belgrade he presented a new U.S. version of the Vance-Owen plan.

[Begin Mitsotakis recording, in Greek with passage-by-passage Serbo-Croatian translation] I have not

brought any plans, neither a U.S. nor any other plan. I have naturally presented the positions of both Europe and the United States, which I know very well. I held a detailed discussion about the Bosnian problem. I was briefed on the Serbian position. This will help me to continue my efforts in all directions in the future. Presently we are all interested in finding a just and lasting solution to the Bosnian crisis. No one can be indifferent to the tragedy in the region, particularly not us Greeks. I consider things that I am fulfilling my obligation to my country and the friendly country of Serbia and to peace in the Balkans. [end recording]

Prime Minister Mitsotakis repeated that in his talks in Belgrade he was assured that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia wants peace to be established as soon as possible. He said that he will hold talks with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] in the afternoon.

President Milosevic stressed that Yugoslavia does not understand the language of pressure and blackmail and that it has always strived for the principle of equality in relations in the international community. The settlement of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis lies in the continuation of talks between all three sides in which the interests of all three sides will be taken into account. Yugoslavia supports the readiness expressed by the assembly of the Serbian republic in Bileca that the negotiations continue until a lasting and just peace has been established in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Reporters were particularly interested in President Milosevic's comment on the recent demand by [Macedonian President] Kiro Gligorov for the revision of the Bucharest Agreement:

[Begin Milosevic recording] I think that this approach is unacceptable and I would say very dangerous in the political sense. After all, judge the facts yourself. What is demanded is the revision of peace agreements that established peace and borders after the Balkan wars. I think that this demand is irresponsible. This in fact shows that Greece was right when it opposed this position of Skopje. When one bears in mind the content of [Turkish President] Ozal's recent visit to Skopje, then one can see that the question of territorial pretensions is not presented naively at all. Therefore, I think that this approach does not lead to the stabilization of relations at all, but in fact toward destabilization. My view is, therefore, negative. [end recording]

Commenting on Germany's role in the Yugoslav crisis, both Prime Minister Mitsotakis and President Milosevic said that regardless of Germany's unequivocal support to the secessionist Yugoslav republics, the present-day Germany cannot be equated with Nazi Germany.

Mitsotakis Meets Patriarch

LD0604162793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1454 GMT 6 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 6 (TANJUG)—Patriarch Pavle of the Serbian Orthodox Church on Tuesday [6 April] received Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, who is currently in Belgrade for a one-day working visit.

After the meeting behind closed doors, Mitsotakis made no statement to the press.

The Greek prime minister visited the Serbian patriarch "in the spirit of centuries-old friendship between the two brotherly peoples, with the assurance that this friendship does not depend on any circumstances of the moment," spokesman for the Serbian Orthodox Church Bishop Irinej said after the meeting.

Asked to comment on the contents of the talks, Bishop Irinej said that "the meeting of His Holiness and Prime Minister Mitsotakis was a "spiritual event," and that political issues would probably figure in the Greek prime minister's talks with the presidents of Yugoslavia and its federal unit, Serbia.

Earlier in the day, Mitsotakis met separately with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Bishop Irinej said that the meeting between the Greek prime minister and the Serbian patriarch, which did not tackle any concrete issues, was a confirmation of deep, existential unity between the two peoples, based on the same religion.

Holds Talks With Karadzic

AU0604184693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Apr 93

[Report by Tatjana Motorenko]

[Text] Greek Premier Konstandinos Mitsotakis and president of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] Radovan Karadzic held talks in the residence of the Greek Ambassador in Belgrade this evening. After the exchange of opinions on a solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, which lasted nearly an hour, Mitsotakis and Karadzic gave the following statements:

[Begin recording] [Mitsotakis, in Greek with passage-by passage Serbo-Croatian translation] I was pleased to hear that the Serbian side was willing to continue the negotiations at all levels and in all institutions and also that the agreed cease-fire has been observed until now.

From our side I encouraged him to continue with his efforts aimed at reaching a lasting and just peace, a peace that should in our opinion be based on the Vance-Owen plan. Naturally, this is a plan that could and must go through certain improvements. I assured him, just like I assured [Serbian President] Mr. Milosevic earlier, that the Greek side was ready to play a positive role in restoring peace.

[Karadzic] It was a great honor for us to meet our Greek friends whom we have been meeting earlier, namely, their ambassador. The Greek views are precious to us because the Greek side is objective and does not resort to unilateral assessments and condemnation of the Serbs.

We fully concur with Mr. Mitsotakis that talks and dialogue are irreplaceable. We will make maximum efforts to negotiate at all levels. The work of the mixed military groups is under way at the moment, and Mr. Mitsotakis encouraged us to continue participating in their work. We will definitely do this as the mixed groups could at least maintain cease-fire if not restore the true peace. [end recording]

Serbian Leaders 'Prefer' Life in Belgrade

93BA0793B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 93 pp 30-31

[Article by Uros Komlenovic: "Refugees: Extra Dose of Brutality"]

[Text] While Gen. Ratko Mladic publicly praises them for their willingness to die for Serbhood, the leaders of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] prefer the climate in Belgrade to that at the front.

The recent television appearance by the military leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Gen. Ratko Mladic, will be remembered for numerous interesting statements, among which the general's assessment of the political leadership of the Serbian Republic, or rather of the Geneva negotiators, stands out. Emphasizing the patriotism of Karadzic, Buha, and others, Mladic depicted them as people ready to die for the good of their nation. The general did not miss the opportunity to appeal to all refugees able to kill to join his army. A 20-year-old from Sarajevo reacted rather boisterously to a similar appeal sent out several months ago: "It would not occur to me to be killed while Sasa Karadzic is staying in Belgrade, driving a nice car, and sleeping in an expensive hotel."

Naturally, the refugee pill is a bitter one to swallow, but some of them have been sweetened significantly. Unlike the majority of their fellow countrymen who have lost everything, some newcomers to Belgrade from Bosnia-Herzegovina live well, even too well in the opinion of Belgradians. These are people who sensed what was approaching in time, sold everything that they could not carry off, and crossed the Drina with their bulging wallets. The refugee financial elite has been supplemented by wartime profiteers and classic plunderers who, thanks to the benevolence of the local governing structures, have managed to transfer their booty to Serbia and Montenegro. There is no solidarity, just as there was not at the front: When Gorazde was deblockaded, several thousand Serbs had to leave the left bank of the Drina in a few hours. While Muslim units fired on the column from the surrounding hills, half-empty cars dodged women with children in their arms, old people, and the infirm. It did not occur to anyone to pick up a child and safely deposit him at the nearest shelter. Around 200 civilians died on that occasion (the exact number has never been determined). Some of the cars in question can be seen every day in Belgrade, Cacak, Uzice....

"Liberation of Ustashi Companies"

Moreover, it is hard to count all the branches of Croatian, Slovene, and Bosnian enterprises and information agencies in Belgrade that have changed tenants and purposes over night. Most often, the business premises have been occupied (excuse me, liberated) by force, without any legal basis whatsoever. In some cases, the police have begrudgingly intervened and gently thrown the "liberators" out, but they have usually returned. In the buildings where these business premises are located, the altered bulletin boards notify the citizenry that one of the numerous enterprises or bureaus from across the Drina is located here now. Conflicts also break out from time to time; for example, one Belgradian complained that Bosnians had seized from him the premises of an "Ustashi firm" on which he had designs.

Still, the most privileged ones are the politicians. NOVOSADSKI INDEKS reports that the happy shopkeeper from Borovo Selo, Goran Hadzic, has received a three-room apartment on Bulevar 23 Oktobra in Novi Sad, and has been allowed to enroll for his third year at the School of Economics in Subotica. The Novi Sad nights are in any event more pleasant than the uncertain, frigid days at the front, especially for so passionate a lover of gambling, women, and fun as Hadzic the Orthodox. To say nothing of vacationing in Sveti Stefan.

Another person who likes staying in Novi Sad is the former minister of information of the SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region of] Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Syrmia, Rade Leskovac, who has since become the leader of the Serbian Radical Party in Krajina. Although he has not moved to Novi Sad like Hadzic, his jeep can be seen very often on the streets of the "Serbian Munich," especially after elections. Also living in Novi Sad is Goran Maric, alias Malkolm Muharem, the former manager of the "Blue Orchestra" group, who together with Dragoslav Bokan is responsible for creating the Serbian Republic's information points. In the meantime, Maric has stopped frequenting the Belgrade bars (especially the elite "Plavi Jahac" cafe-gallery) where he used to take inventory of Sarajevo refugees capable of fighting at the front and has settled down in Novi Sad where, apparently, he has become the mayor's advisor for information.

Very Important Persons (VIP's)

Unlike the Slavonian-Baranjan retinues who delight in sprees around Novi Sad gambling establishments and bars, the leaders of the Serbian Republic prefer Belgrade. The fighting Ms. Plavsic, who likes to tell how the soldiers at the front ask her impatiently when they will get to wage war against those Americans, has not forgotten to provide for her family's safety: The Plavsics

live on Baba-Visnjina Street in Vracar, and the big apartment in a prestigious building with all the modern conveniences belonged to the housing fund of the SSIP [Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs] and was used by officials from the Finnish Embassy. Nearby is the building that housed the Portuguese and later the Sudanese Embassy, which has now been made available to diplomats from across the Drina. As far as Vracar Opstina is concerned, there is more and more talk of the decision that the Executive Council adopted the day before the transfer of power. The former leadership tried to distribute 50 apartments, but the decision was blocked as soon as the new people took power. There will probably be more talk of this, and stories are circulating around town that several apartments were intended for functionaries of the Serbian Republic.

Biljana Plavsic's case is not an isolated one, because nearly all the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs have moved their families to Belgrade. Sonja Karadzic, a singer better known to the public for her insults directed against Belgrade and Belgradians than for her hits and vocal abilities, explained that she was paying for her stay of many weeks at the "Interkontinental" from her own (or rather, her dad's) pocket, but there were few people who believed her. Her brother Sasa can be encountered in Belgrade or in Pale, in any event far from the front, and the story of the airlift of his house pet is still being retold.

The aggressive minister of foreign affairs of the Serbian Republic, Aleksa Buha, lives with his family in the very center of Belgrade. Also living in the capital of "all Serbs of the world" is writer Miroslav Toholj, Karadzic's information bard, known for his attacks against the Belgrade opposition and his not exactly literary vocabulary. Mr. Toholj solved his housing problem by moving into the Belgrade branch office of Sarajevo's OSLOBODJENJE on Ililandarska Street. Other leaders of the Bosnian Serbs who occasionally visit Belgrade use the former "Bosnian villa" on Uzicka Street in Dedinje.

Using the Oar

Feeling that the costs of war and the economic blockade are increasingly tightening the noose around their necks, many Belgradians grumble when they see the luxury cars of the leaders of the Serbs from across the Drina. A curse that originated in western Serbia has emerged from the gloom of history: "F... the oar that rowed you over the river." Unfortunately, the tendency to generalize that is characteristic of the population here could result in intolerance toward all refugees, even though the majority of them are unfortunate people whose only "sin" is that they lived in the wrong place and had the wrong surname.

Sadly, the general escalation of crime has not passed the newcomers by, especially those who filled the police files in Bosnia and who have easily found a common language with their Belgrade colleagues. Aware that war criminals will "enrich" the local underworld with extra doses of brutality, many Belgradians, looking to the future, are wholeheartedly rooting for the Serbian Republic's army. Because if it is defeated in the war, Belgrade will be overrun by local Bosnian commanders like Bozidar Vucurevic, the ethnic cleanser of Trebinje, or Dr. Dusko Kornjaca, the master of life and death at Cajnic. Compared to them and their "guardists," Ms. Plavsic, Dr. Buha, Miroslav Toholj, and Sonja Karadzic are delightful fellow citizens. It is not important whether Gen. Mladic was wrong when he said that they were willing to die for Serbhood. There has already been too much death.

Underground Shelter Capacity Discussed

93BA0798A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 93 pp 26-27

[Article by D. Glisic: "Safety Under the Earth"]

[Text] "When he regained consciousness and was able to stand up, the explosions of the shells merged into a thunder that caused a screaming in his ears and took away the air. The street was empty and obstructed by demolished houses.... The houses around were crumbling in a roar. Nevertheless, the thunder cleared his head: What they had been waiting for began.... Just before night fell, columns of smoke began to rise, fire started in every direction. First, the mold factory caught fire on the Danube, after it the sawmill belonging to the Commercial Bank, houses in the Jewish quarter, and then buildings in the Sava Port, and smoke and flame spread throughout the entire center of the city."

That was the first bombardment of Belgrade, with artillery to be sure, not the aerial bombardment, as described in Cosic's *Vreme Smrti* (*Time of Death*). After World War I, when the airplane emerged as the most powerful and murderous weapon, intensive shelter construction began in Yugoslavia during the twenties of this century. According to the research of Pera Markov, who has an exceptional knowledge of the design and construction of shelter facilities, a man who has spent two decades in the Belgrade Urban Planning Bureau worrying about shelters and their planning, in the Ministry of the Army and Navy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia there was a department for protection from the air, and on its initiative a regulation on protection of citizens from air attacks was adopted in 1939. Toward the end of the fourth decade of this century, the first graphic plan of shelters in Belgrade was also done, and among them the royal shelter was the most secure and highest quality.

Just before World War II, large-capacity shelter facilities began to be built in our country to accommodate as many as 1,000 people. The population of Belgrade at that time was about 150,000. Although the capital of Yugoslavia was an "open city" immediately before the war, Hitler's Stukas mainly bombed civilian targets in a deafening roar. As the sirens wailed, the public found refuge in the shelters that had already been built or in the numerous tunnels and underpasses.

Belgrade One of the Most Devastated Cities

The bombing by allied planes in 1944 was much worse; it put Belgrade among the seven most devastated cities in Europe, typified by the Coventry syndrome, named after the English city that was razed to the ground. In addition to Belgrade, this unhappy fate was experienced also by Warsaw, Rotterdam, Cologne, Leningrad, Dresden, and Coventry itself. The fears of the prewar military experts proved to have been well-founded. The allies bombed even churches and residential buildings more fiercely than the Germans.

During the Cold War, especially after the Cuban crisis, shelter construction in Yugoslavia gained in intensity in the early seventies. According to the estimates of military strategists at the time, it was altogether in the spirit of the conception of nationwide defense and social self-protection for construction of expensive "atomic" shelters to flourish. Shelters for more than 50 persons were considered profitable, and their construction was a legal obligation of those who financed building construction, and that put a financial burden on housing construction. It was no rarity, then, for investors building shelters to fulfill their obligations perfunctorily, which affected their quality. In view of the fact that the fear of an atomic strike imposed the requirement that the shelters provide safe protection against radiation, the impact of heat, the air strike, and biological impacts, they were mainly built underground. They were furnished with beds, barrels of water, and power generators. They were designed for a lengthy stay.

Construction of Awkwardly Large Structures

In the mid-eighties, the planning and construction of shelters were freed from the rigid military control, but that still did not mean real freedom for investors and builders, Mr. Markov says categorically. While current legislation tied their hands both then and now, at least in Serbia, in Croatia they abandoned the concept of building nuclear shelters, essentially simplifying the manner of their construction. Only in the late eighties was the assessment made in Serbia as well that construction of the same shelters in different parts of the city was inadvisable. That is when an area plan was done as the basis for building the best-quality shelters in the most populated areas and mainly smaller shelters on the periphery. That was only the first step toward the construction of better-quality and more purposive shelters, in Mr. Markov's judgment.

In the meantime, no nuclear war occurred, but so-called conventional warfare has been taking its tribute in blood in various parts of the globe. In the early nineties, however far away that might seem now, the whirlwind of war began to devastate even the former Yugoslavia. The misfortunes about which we heard in connection with Lebanon began to happen to people we know and who are dear to us. War came to Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, dangerously approaching Serbia and Belgrade. The threats of the designers of the New World Order have been increasing the fear of a possible attack on Belgrade and the public's interest in the capacity and appearance of the shelter facilities built long ago.

Assigned to the planning and construction of shelters in the Urban Planning Bureau, Pera Markov at one time even did a study on ways of using those facilities.

"It was obvious that the problem of shelter construction and maintenance would not be solved in the best way until someone was permanently concerned with them. Time took its toll, and the structures built more than 20 years ago have long been neglected. Building occupants have used the so-called house shelters for their personal needs, many had no electricity, and a large portion of them were not even secure. There were also attempts to use subterranean passages, like the one on the Cukarica Slope, as shelter with reinforced protection; they were used for that purpose even before the war, but that initiative died out even though the investor gave his consent. The shelters," Markov concludes, "are an important resource and must be maintained in the right way. The construction of dual-purpose structures and renting out the shelters that already exist are perhaps the best solution."

The Public's Lack of Understanding

We heard a similar reflection in the Civil Defense Department in the Serbian government, where we were told that the republic has sufficient shelter capacity and shelters are mainly in good condition, especially after formation of the Public Firm for Shelter Maintenance. Orders of the republic civil defense staff in June and July 1991 regulated the obligation of house council chairmen to inform tenants about the location of the nearest shelter. The Law on Defense provided that opstina staffs draw up area charts of vulnerability, which later were the basis for area classification. Because the investor could hardly be expected, once he had built the shelter or appropriated the prescribed 2 percent of the value of the construction project, to continue its maintenance, the idea was pursued of forming a public firm for shelter maintenance, and they began to be rented out wherever possible. These structures are in the best condition today. The obstacles which sometimes arise because citizens are not well-informed and are afraid that they will have nowhere to take shelter in case of an air attack are being removed by the simple explanation that in case of war the shelter must be emptied immediately and adapted to its original purpose.

In the light of past experience of our own and other countries which have had the misfortune to feel the horrors of war on their own soil, there is a greater prospect of conventional war than atomic war, so that a short stay in the shelters is now foreseen. The beds, generators, and barrels have been removed from them, they have been emptied and adapted to accommodate a considerably larger number of people. Aside from the structures that have been built, which are most common, as far as the capital is concerned, in New Belgrade, house

shelters, underground passages, caves, tunnels, and underpasses, in the number of which few cities can rival Belgrade, can serve that purpose. Most of these structures can provide protection against conventional bombardment, but also against low-intensity nuclear attacks. This especially applies to underground shelters. In Belgrade, incidentally, there are about 4,000 public shelters and auxiliary shelters capable of sheltering more than 300,000 people. When you add to that tunnels, subterranean passages, caves, and numerous house shelters, it is estimated that more than a million people could be protected for a short time in case of an air attack on Belgrade.

Their condition, however, is not the same everywhere, because maintenance has mainly been left to the discretion of opstina civil defense staffs. It is best, according to Vidoje Golubovic, director of the Public Firm for Shelter Maintenance, in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Nis, and Valjevo, where maintenance of these structures was at an enviable level even earlier.

"Since April of last year, when specialists of the public firm went to work, more than 90 percent of the recorded shelters and auxiliary shelters have so far been inspected and prepared for use," says Director Golubovic. "Of course, that estimate applies to public and block shelters, while with the house shelters, which are the concern of house councils, it is a bit different. We do not have the funds to repair those structures, which frequently lack ventilation equipment, the wiring is not in good repair, and sometimes even the entrances are blocked."

In the Public Firm for Shelter Maintenance, they say that many shelters in Serbia still have not been registered. The firm's specialists, who include architects, construction engineers, mechanical engineers, and electrical engineers, have all the work they can handle. They react speedily to almost every appeal from the public. They also took the initiative for construction of dual-purpose structures right in the project design phase, they have been fighting for supervision of construction so that useless or worn-out equipment and devices will not be installed, which earlier occurred rather often, and they also do an inspection at the time of the project's acceptance. In short, they are on hand throughout the entire process of shelter construction.

"The government is responsible for protection of the public," Director Golubovic judges, "so that it must have a decisive role in the area of shelter construction and maintenance. That is why their maintenance cannot be financed without its help. Aside from the funds which we get from the Defense Ministry, one of the sources which will facilitate better-quality shelter maintenance is renting them out. The construction of 'block' shelters is also one way of obtaining the funds necessary to their better maintenance. The costs of maintaining and equipping house shelters are paid by the tenants, just as they do to repair and maintain elevators, basements, and so on."

Although the renting out of shelter structures is going rather slowly, so far only 10 percent of them having been rented, it is already obvious that the rented structures are very well-equipped. These are now supermarkets, fruit and vegetable stores, video clubs, gymnasiums, firing ranges, pool halls, but also warehouses and storerooms of various firms. In case of war or an air attack, these structures would be prepared to receive threatened citizens in just an hour or two and to serve their original purpose. According to records kept in the Public Firm for Shelter Maintenance, about 10 percent of these structures have been rented out and are being used without any compensation at all. The tenants are philanthropic societies, athletic associations, the scouts, amateur groups....

"The shelters must be maintained," Director Golubovic is categorical. "So anyone who uses them for his own needs must take care of them or set aside funds to maintain them and keep them up-to-date. We have so far serviced many shelters and similar structures, improved their appearance, and facilitated their use, but without a very reliable source of income our work will be increasingly difficult. And the results poorer and poorer. And that is not in anyone's interest," concludes Vidoje Golubovic, director of the Public Firm for Shelter Maintenance.

Seselj Sees Arrest of Ministers as 'Good Beginning'

93BA0799A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 93 p 9

[Article by D. Pejak: "A Good Beginning—Ministers Are Being Arrested"]

[Text] Mali Zvornik-Zvornik, 9 Mar—Dr. Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], also took part in the proceedings of today's meeting of the Mali Zvornik Opstina Assembly, in which the Radicals took power in the last election with 16 of the 29 seats. The session was also attended by other representatives of the SRS—Dragan Todorovic, vice president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, as well as Aleksandar Stefanovic and Novak Savic, federal deputies, and Dragan Zivkovic, republic deputy.

Dr. Vojislav Seselj spoke to an overflowing auditorium about the fight initiated against crime.

"The government is beginning a fight against crime," Dr. Seselj said. "How serious that fight will be remains to be seen, but the beginning has been good. Ministers are being arrested, that is, the cleaning of the fish has begun with the head, at the place where it stinks the most. We hope that in a few days we will also see ministers of Milan Panic's former federal government behind bars. That is, those who blundered and stole the most should be the first to be called to account, and then on down the line," said Dr. Seselj, emphasizing that the government must not stop short in prosecuting crime, above all in prosecuting criminals in its own ranks.

"Just like other opstinas along the Drina River," the leader of the SRS went on to say, "but also Serbia as a whole, so Mali Zvornik Opstina is also burdened with a great influx of Muslim refugees.

"If the FRY were not under an economic blockade and the sanctions of the United Nations, it would be our moral obligation to accept those refugees and care for them. However, so long as we are under a blockade, we cannot support 50,000 Muslims when members of their nationality are burning and torching Serbian villages, killing women and children on the left bank of the Drina. We will not, of course, take revenge on those Muslim refugees, we will not show malice toward them in any way, we will simply turn them over to the UNHCR, and let it find accommodation for them somewhere in the world. Or, if the United Nations wants those 50,000 Muslim refugees to remain on our territory, then the sanctions and blockade of the FRY should be lifted. Either one way or the other," Dr. Seselj was categorical.

Dr. Vojislav Seselj spent today on the left bank of the Drina, in the Zvornik region, where he was first welcomed and met by Branko Grujic, president of Zvornik Serbian Opstina, and then the SRS leader, accompanied by his host, visited the hospital and the Birac Alumina Mill. Because he expressed a desire to visit fighting men on the battlefield, his hosts accommodated him, and Dr. Vojislav Seselj had an occasion to meet members of the army of the Serbian Republic on the first line of the front.

'Myth' of Serbs Being in Worst Position Called 'Dangerous'

93BA0799C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 93 p 19

[Article by Dr. Ljubomir Madzar: "The Economic Aspect of Nationalism"]

[Text] This article is devoted to one of the most widespread and at the same time dangerous prejudices. I am referring to the assertion that the Serbian people are exceptional in this region for having been exposed to the pressure of being scattered over several different states, but they have lived in one state—and thus a large part of them have actually been in the diaspora.

The procedure is simple. The object of the analysis are the Serbs and neighboring peoples who have ties with them—the Croats, Muslims, and Albanians. The Slovenes are omitted, because they are not neighbors, and they live on an ethnically homogeneous territory. The Macedonians are omitted even though they are a neighboring people, because the number of Macedonians on the territory of the former Yugoslav republics is negligibly small. Their fate, however, is very unfavorable and almost tragic, because a large portion of them remained even outside the borders of the SFRY. We can assume that it will not occur to anyone to see in the Macedonian Calvary a model of national emancipation that one would wish upon his own people. As for the Serbian question, the problem of Macedonians is not posed in this plane, and the Serbs who live in Macedonia will be taken into account as a component of the Serbian question. The Montenegrins are not included in the analysis because they live in the same state with the Serbs.

The second question which is obviously bound up with the one that has just been put is this: What percentage of members of other nationalities live on the territory of the state considered to be the parent state of that nationality. It is obviously important to know what percentage of Serbs live outside Serbia, but it is equally important to know what percentage of the population of Serbia is made up of other nationalities. One might think at first that a high percentage of, say, non-Serbian inhabitants on the territory of Serbia is a negative aspect of the position of the Serbian state: greater tension and a lower degree of social stability. But that percentage reflects an extremely important degree of fulfillment of the territorial aspirations of the particular nationality, so that for the purpose of this analysis it can be treated as an advantage.

A Surprising Result

The analysis mainly relies on the last normal census, which was conducted in 1981. We nevertheless gave consideration also to the results of the most recent census in the SFRY in order (1) to identify trends and (2) to see if the principal qualitative relations have lasting validity. The figures are taken from official statistical publications. The parent territories for Serbs and Croats are obviously their republics. For Muslims, Bosnia and Herzegovina is taken as the parent territory, and for Albanians (in Yugoslavia) the parent territory is Kosovo. The figures for Albanians must be interpreted somewhat differently, because a portion of those who are outside Kosovo nevertheless still live in the same republic. But even in their case one can speak of an existential discontinuity, because that nationality performs its most important cultural and political functions in Kosovo.

The table contains the basic finding:

	Percentage of Members of That Nationality on Territory of Parent Republic		Percentage of "Other" Inhabitants in Total Population on Territory of Parent Republic	
Nationalities	1981	1991	1981	1991
Serbs	75.9	75.3	33.6	34.4
Croats	78.0	79.0	22.0	20.2
Muslims	81.5	83.2	60.5	56.3
Albanians	71.0	74.0	22.6	17.8

The interpretation of the columns is important. The two columns on the left show the share of the population residing in "their own" republic in the total population of that nationality in Yugoslavia. For Albanians, for example, this is the proportion of Albanians living in Kosovo in the total number of Albanians in Yugoslavia. The other two columns show the share of population not living in their parent territory in the total population of the parent republic or province, for example, the share of all citizens who are not of Serbian nationality in the population of Serbia.

The result will surprise many people. With respect to the number of members of their nationality living outside of the territory of the parent republic, the Croats and Serbs in 1981 are in almost the identical situation: Each of the nationalities has less than a fourth living outside its own republic. The Albanians are in a considerably worse position: Aside from the fact that they represent a minority in Yugoslavia separated from that nationality's own state, they also have an appreciably larger number of their members in other parts of Yugoslavia, outside Kosovo as their parent territory. They are doubly handicapped.

The position of the Muslims, though, is specific. They are characterized by an above-average percentage of their members in "their own" republic, but that is not any particular advantage, because they are mixed to a high degree with Serbs and Croats; they do not even constitute a majority in that state "of theirs." In 1981, they represented less than two-fifths in "their own" republic.

The picture of the level of realization of national aspirations is supplemented with information about the representation of other nationalities within their own respective republics. Here, the Serbs prove to be a nationality with important advantages. If we leave out the Muslims because of the specific situation we have already emphasized, only the Serbs can be said to have a considerable surplus in the sense of a positive difference between the percentage of other inhabitants living in Serbia and the percentage of Serbs living outside Serbia. In that context, it is interesting to conduct a mental experiment in which the percentage of other nationalities living on their own respective parent territory is taken as equivalent compensation for the percentage of their population scattered over the territories of other nationalities. In this case, we can add the first and third columns and the second and fourth columns. The sums represent a kind of hypothetical measure of fulfillment of historical aspirations to form a state. The Muslims are an obvious exception, because Bosnia and Herzegovina is far from being their state in the strict sense: They do not represent even 50 percent in "their own" state. Measured by the sum we have just explained, the position of the Serbs as to their state proves to appreciably superior to that of the Croats and Albanians. In the case of the Serbs, that sum is 109.5 percent, while for the Croats it is 100 percent, and for the Albanians it is 93.6 percent. The results of the 1991 Census show a certain worsening of the position of the Serbs, but there is no basic change in the picture.

Advantages of the Serbs

The dismemberment of Yugoslavia, however tragic in and of itself and harmful to the national interest of all the nationalities except the Slovenes, does not put the Serbs—at least as far as quantitative relations go—in some obviously more unfavorable position than the others. On the contrary. The belief that the Serbs have been particularly damaged by the division of Yugoslavia is a colossal and at the same time dangerous myth, at least as far as the numbers are concerned.

This statistical view of ethnic relations is based on the premises used by ethnically overheated intellectual figures and the political forces inspired by their ideas. It is certainly possible to dispute the very conceptual and ethical basis of such views of the nature and role of the ethnic factor in social development. We should hope, that is, that over the long run the ethnic composition will become irrelevant, at least concerning those of its aspects which spoil relations between individuals and nationalities. The individual will come to the center of the social stage, and ethnic features will become on the one hand his private affair and on the other a powerful factor for the cross-breeding and enrichment of cultures.

Macedonia

Speculations on Opening 'Southern Front'

93BA0783D Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 13 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by Petar Todorovski: "War at the Door"]

[Text] Skopje, 13 Mar—The Macedonians are listening very carefully to the echoes of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Croatia, and also to the rattling of weapons in Kosovo and Sandzak. They have good reason to do so. If there is a foreign military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina and if the FRY also becomes involved in the war, Macedonia will not be spared at all. The military conflagration will inevitably spread to that republic as well.

Military analysts say that in the middle of last year a large cargo of weapons was brought to Greece, reportedly as part of the agreement between Presidents Bush and Yeltsin on arms reduction in Central Europe. The shipment included enough weapons for more than 100,000 soldiers. It is reportedly not intended for the Greek defense forces, since they are well equipped with modern weapons on the basis of the Rogers Doctrine, according to which it is necessary to eliminate the NATO defense

forces' backwardness in conventional weapons in comparison with those of the Warsaw Pact. The weapons were not brought to Greece for Turkey either, and even less realistic are the announcements that they are intended for a possible NATO military base in Albania, since strategically Albania is not suitable for anything like that. The only logical conclusion would thus be that the weapons are intended only for possible military measures against Serbia and Montenegro.

Since these are primarily infantry weapons, it is also clear that Macedonia will not be able to avoid their use, since the closest route to Serbia and Montenegro leads precisely through Macedonia. The route through Bulgaria is considerably longer, and the one through Albania is not suitable for such a large armored mechanized unit. Consequently, the most suitable area for the passage of international military coalition forces is precisely through Macedonia.

If the predictions of military analysts are fulfilled, i.e., if international forces intervene in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the FRY, Macedonia will be in a hopeless situation, so to speak. Since it has accepted the UN Security Council's resolution on economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, it automatically sided with the international community. Thus, in the event of war it will also have to decide whether it will allow the international military forces to pass through its territory or not. If it allows this and if the FRY decides that it will oppose those forces, Macedonia will automatically be on the side of those who are attacking Serbia and Montenegro. In that case, the FRY will also consider Macedonia to be at war with it, which means that the war tempest will also spread to Macedonia. Even if Macedonia does not allow the international forces across its territory, however, it will be at war, since in that case it will have to join the other side and seek allies in the FRY, if the international forces try to cross its territory by force. A third possibility is also fatal for Macedonia. If the situation is so exacerbated that armed intervention is inevitable and if the FRY decides to oppose the international forces, then it may happen that the Yugoslav army will not deploy itself against them at Pesevo on the Serbian-Macedonian border, but rather, for instance, at Gevgelija on the Macedonian-Greek border. In that case it will have to enter Macedonia by force.

For the time being, we can only guess how Macedonia will behave and who it will side with. In any case, it will not find itself in the war tempest of its own will. People in Skopje also think that upon intervention by international military forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina the FRY will not be able to stand aside, and consequently it will try to lengthen the front and thus weaken the force of the international military intervention. That would mean opening new crisis centers in Sandzak, Kosovo, and Macedonia. If a so-called southern front really is opened, then the Macedonian army will by no means be able to resist the Yugoslav army without foreign assistance. The military and political analysts there are also aware of this, and in protecting Macedonia's territorial integrity, they are giving higher priority to international guarantees than they are convinced of the strength of their own defense forces.